

A N
E S S A Y
ON THE
L I F E

OF THE
HONORABLE MAJOR-GENERAL
ISRAEL PUTNAM:

Addressed to the STATE SOCIETY of the CINCINNATI
in CONNECTICUT.

By COL. DAVID HUMPHREYS.

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To the Honorable

Col. JEREMIAH WADSWORTH,

PRESIDENT of the STATE SOCIETY of the
CINCINNATI in CONNECTICUT, &c. &c.

MY DEAR SIR,

UNAVOIDABLE absence will prevent me from performing the grateful task, assigned me by the State Society of the Cincinnati, on the fourth day of July next. Though I cannot personally address them, I wish to demonstrate by some token of affectionate remembrance, the sense I entertain of the honor they have more than once conferred upon me by their suffrages.

MEDITATING in what manner to accomplish this object, it occurred to me, that an attempt to preserve the actions of General Putnam, in the archives of our State Society, would be acceptable to its members; as they had all served with great satisfaction under his immediate orders. An essay on the life of a person so elevated in military rank, and so conversant in extraordinary scenes, could not be destitute of amusement and instruc-

tion, and would possess the advantage of presenting for imitation a respectable model of public and private virtues.

GENERAL Putnam is universally acknowledged to have been as brave and as honest a man as ever America produced ; but the distinguishing features of his character, and the particular transactions of his life are but imperfectly known. He seems to have been formed on purpose for the age in which he lived. His native courage, unshaken integrity, and established reputation as a soldier, were necessary in the early stages of our opposition to the designs of Great Britain, and gave unbounded confidence to our troops in their first conflicts in the field of battle.

THE inclosed manuscript justly claims indulgence for its venial errors, as it is the first effort in biography, that has been made on this continent. The attempt, I am conscious is laudable, whatever may be the failure in point of execution.

I AM happy to find that the Society of the Cincinnati is now generally regarded in a favorable manner. Mankind, with few exceptions, are disposed to do justice to the motives on which it was founded. For our-

selves, we can never recall to mind the occasion, without feeling the most tender emotions of friendship and sensibility. At the dissolution of the army, when we retired to separate walks of life, from the toils of a successful war, in which we had been associated during a very important part of our lives; the pleasing idea, and the fond hope of meeting once a year, *which gave birth to our fraternal institution*, were necessary consolations to sooth the pangs, that tore our bosoms at the melancholy hour of parting. When our hands touched, perhaps, for the last time and our tongues refused to perform their office in bidding farewell, Heaven witnessed and approved the purity of our intentions in the ardor of our affections. May we persevere in the union of our friendship, and the exertion of our benevolence; regardless of the censures of jealous suspicion, which charges our designs with selfishness, and atcribes our actions to improper motives; while we realize sentiments of a nobler nature in our anniversary festivities, and our hearts dilate with an honest joy, in opening the hand of beneficence to the indigent widow and unprotected orphan of our departed friends.

I PRAY you, my dear Sir, to present my

most respectful compliments to the members of the Society, and to assure them on my part, that whensoever it shall be in my power, I shall esteem it the felicity of my life to attend their anniversaries.

I HAVE the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest consideration and esteem, your most obedient and most humble servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

Mount Vernon, in Virginia,

June 4th, 1788.

A N.
E S S A Y
ON THE LIFE OF
GENERAL PUTNAM.

TO treat of recent transactions and persons still living, is always a delicate and frequently a thankless office. Yet, while the partiality of friends or the malignity of enemies decides with rashness on every delineation of character, or recital of circumstances; a consolation remains that distant nations and remoter ages, free from the influence of prejudice or passion, will judge with impartiality and appreciate with justice. We have fallen upon an æra singularly prolific in extraordinary personages, and dignified by splendid events. Much is expected from the selections of the judicious biographer, as well as from the labors of the faithful historian. What-

ever prudential reasons may now occur to postpone the portrait of our own times; the difficulties which oppose themselves to the execution, instead of being diminished, will encrease with the lapse of years. Every day will extinguish some life that was dear to fame, and obliterate the memorial of some deed which would have constituted the delight and admiration of the world.

So transient and indistinguishable are the traits of character, so various and inexplicable the springs of action, so obscure and perishable the remembrance of human affairs, that, unless attempts are made to sketch the picture, while the present generation is living, the likeness will be forever lost, or only preserved by a vague recollection; disguised, perhaps, by the whimsical colorings of a creative imagination.

It will doubtless hereafter be an object of regret that those, who, having themselves been conspicuous actors on the theatre of public life, and, who in conjunction with a knowledge of facts, possess abilities to paint those characters and describe those events, which (during the progress of the American Revolution) interested and astonished mankind, should feel an insuperable reluctance to

assume the task—a task, which (if executed with fidelity) must, from the dignity of its subject, become grateful to the patriots of all nations, and profitable in example to the remotest posterity. Equally severe will be the mortification of contemplating the reveries and fictions, which have been substituted by hacknied writers in the place of historical facts. Nor should we suppress our indignation against that class of professional authors, who, placed in the vale of penury and obscurity, at an immense distance from the scenes of action and all opportunities of acquiring the necessary documents, with insufferable effrontery, obtrude their fallacious and crude performances on a credulous public. Did the result of their lucubrations terminate only in relieving their own distresses or gratifying their individual vanity, it might be passed in silent contempt. But the effect is extensive, permanent and pernicious. The lye,* however improbable or monstrous, which has once assumed the semblance of truth, by being often repeated with minute and plausible particulars, is at length so tho-

* The writer had here particularly in his eye, the Rhapsody, palmed upon the public, under the name of a History, by a certain Frenchman called D'Auberteuil: Perhaps so much falshood, folly and calumny was never before accumulated in a single performance.

roughly established, as to obtain universal credit, defy contradiction and frustrate every effort of refutation. Such is the mischief, such are the unhappy consequences on the bewildered mind, that the reader has no alternative, but to become the dupe of his credulity, or distrust the veracity of almost all human testimony. After having long been the sport of fiction, he will perhaps probably run into the opposite extreme, and give up all confidence in the annals of ancient as well as modern times : and thus the easy-believer of fine fables and marvellous stories will find, at last, his historical faith change to scepticism and end in infidelity.

THE numerous errors and falsehoods relative to the birth and achievements of Major General Putnam, which have (at a former period) been circulated with assiduity on both sides of the Atlantic, and the uncertainty which appeared to prevail with respect to his real † character, first produced the reso-

† The following lines are extracted from a poem, entitled "The Prospect of America:" written by the late ingenious Dr. Ladd.

"Hail Putnam ! hail, thou venerable name !
 "Tho' dark oblivion threatens thy mighty fame,
 "It threatens in vain—for long shalt thou be known,
 "Who first in virtue and in battle shone,

ation of writing this essay on his life and induced the editor to obtain * materials from that hero himself. If communications of such authenticity, if personal intimacy as an *aid-de-camp* to that General, or if subsequent military employments, which afforded access to sources † of intelligence not open to

“ When fourscore years had blanch’d thy laurell’d head,
“ Strong in thine age; the flame of war was spread.”

On which Dr. Ladd made this note :

“ The brave Putnam seems to have been almost obscured amidst the glare of succeeding worthies ; but his early and gallant services entitle him to an everlasting remembrance.”

Other bards have also asserted the glory of this venerable veteran. In the first concise review of the principal American heroes who signalized themselves in the last war, the same character is thus represented :

“ There stood stern Putnam, seam’d with many a scar,
“ The veteran honors of an earlier war.”

The Vision of Columbus, Book V.

* The editor seizes with eagerness an opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Dr. Albigeance Waldo, who was so obliging as to commit to writing many anecdotes, communicated to him by General Putnam in the course of the present year.

† A multitude of proofs might be produced to demonstrate that military facts cannot always be accurately known but by the commander in chief and his confidential officers. The marquis de Chastelleux (whose opportunity to acquire genuine information, respecting those parts of the American war which he hath casually mentioned, was better than that of any other writer) gives an account of a *grand Forage* which general Heath ordered to be made towards Kingsbridge in the autumn

others, give the writer any advantages ; the unbiaſſed mind will decide how far they exculpate him from the imputations of that officiouſneſs, ignorance and preſumption, which

of 1780. The Marquis, who was preſent when the detachment marched, and to whom General Heath ſhewed the orders that were given to General Stark, the commanding officer of the expedition, obſerves that he had never ſeen, in manuſcript or print, more pertinent inſtructions. Now the fact is, that this detachment, under the pretext of a forage, was intended by the Commander in chief to co-operate with the main army in an attempt againſt the enemy's poſts on York-Iſland ; and that General Heath himſelf was then ignorant of the real deſign. The Commander in Chief ſpent a whole campaign in ripening this project. Boats, mounted on traveling carriages, were kept conſtantly with the army. The marquis de la Fayette, at the head of the Light Infantry, was to have made the attack in the night on fort Waſhington. The period choſen for this enterpriſe was the very time, when the army were to break up their camp and march into winter-quarters : ſo that the Commander in Chief, moving in the duſk of the evening, would have been on the banks of the Hudſon, with his whole force, to have ſupported the attack. The cautious manner in which the co-operation on the part of the troops ſent by General Heath, on the pretended forage, was to have been conducted, will be underſtood from the following ſecret inſtructions.

“ To Brigadier General STARK.

Head Quarters Paſſaic Falls Nov. 21, 1780.

“ SIR,

“ Colonel Humphreys, one of my aides de camp, is charged by me with orders of a private and particular nature, which he is to deliver to you, and which

others have been reprehended with severity. He only wishes that a premature and unfavorable construction may not be formed of his motive or object. Should this essay

you are to obey. He will inform you of the necessity of this mode of communication.

" I am, Sir, &c.

" Geo. Washington."

" *To Lieut. Col. David Humphreys, A. D. Camp.*

" SIR,

" You are immediately to proceed to West-Point and communicate the business committed to you, *in confidence*, to Major General Heath, and to no other person whatsoever; from thence you will repair to the detachment at the White Plains, on Friday next, taking measures to prevent their leaving that place, before you get to them. And in the course of the succeeding night you may inform the commanding officer of the enterprize in contemplation against the enemy's posts on York Island.

" As the troops are constantly to lie on their arms; no previous notice should be given; but they may be put in motion precisely at 4 o'clock, and commence a slow and regular march to King's Bridge, until they shall discover or be informed of the concerted signals being made—when the march must be pressed with the greatest rapidity. Parties of horse should be sent forward to keep a look out for the signals.

" Although the main body ought to be kept compact, patrols of horse and light parties might be sent towards East and West Chester: and upon the signals being discovered, Sheldon's regiment and the Connecticut State troops (which may also be put in motion as soon as the orders can be communicated after 4 o'clock) should be pushed forward to intercept any.

have any influence in correcting mistakes, or rescuing from oblivion the actions of that distinguished Veteran; should it create an emulation to copy his domestic, manly and

“ of the enemy, who may attempt to gain Frog’s Neck,
 “ and to cut off the Refugee-corps at Morristania. A
 “ few men, with some address, may spread such an a-
 “ larm as to prevent an attempt of the enemy to re-
 “ treat to Frog’s Neck, from an apprehension of sur-
 “ rounding parties.

“ You will communicate these instructions to the com-
 “ manding officer of the detachment, who, upon his
 “ approach to King’s Bridge, will receive orders from me
 “ as early as possible.

“ Should the signals not be discovered, the troops
 “ will halt at least six miles from the bridge, until fur-
 “ ther intelligence can be obtained.

“ The absolute necessity of the most perfect secrecy is
 “ the occasion of communicating my orders through
 “ this channel.”

Given at Head-Quarters, Passaic Falls,
 this 22d day of Nov. 1780,

Geo. Washington.

Never was a plan better arranged: and never did circumstances promise more sure or complete success. The British were not only unalarmed, but our own troops were likewise entirely misguided in their expectations. The accidental intervention of some vessels prevented at this time the attempt: which was more than once resumed afterwards. Notwithstanding this favorite project was not ultimately effected, it was evidently not less bold in conception or feasible in accomplishment, than that attempted so successfully at Trenton; or than that, which was brought to so glorious an issue in the successful siege of York-Town.

heroic virtues ; or should it prompt some more skilful hand to pourtray the illustrious groupe of Patriots, Sages and Heroes, who have guided our counsels, fought our battles and adorned the memorable Epoque of Independence, it will be an ample compensation for the trouble and excite a consolatory reflection through every vicissitude of life.

ISRAEL PUTNAM, who through a regular gradation of promotion became the senior Major General in the army of the United States, and next in rank to General Washington, was born at Salem in the Province, now State, of Massachusetts, on the 7th day of January 1718. His father, Capt. Joseph Putnam was the son of Mr. John Putnam, who with two brothers came from the south

It is true the Marquis de Chastellux, whose professional knowledge and fountain-head intelligence have enabled him to describe several actions better than they are elsewhere described, speaks in this instance of an ulterior object : and says that secrets were preserved more inviolably in the American than in the French army. His words are :

“ C'est que le secret est garde tres exactement a
 “ l'armee Americaine ; peu de personnes ont
 “ part a la confiance du Chef, et en general on y
 “ parle moins que dans les armees Francoises des op-
 “ erations de la guerre, et de ce que l'on appelle
 “ chez nous *les Nouvelles*.”

of England and were among the first settlers of Salem,

WHEN we thus behold a person, from the humble walks of life, starting unnoticed in the career of fame, and, by an undeviating progress through a life of honor, arriving at the highest dignity in the state; curiosity is strongly excited, and philosophy loves to trace the path of glory from the cradle of obscurity to the summit of elevation.

ALTHOUGH our ancestors, the first settlers of this land, amidst the extreme pressure of poverty and danger, early instituted schools for the education of youths, designed for the learned professions; yet it was thought sufficient to instruct those destined to labor on the earth, in reading, writing and such rudiments of arithmetic, as might be requisite for keeping the accounts of their little transactions with each other. Few farmer's sons had more advantages, none less. In this state of mediocrity it was the lot of young Putnam to be placed. His early instruction was not considerable, and the active scenes of life, in which he was afterwards engaged, prevented the opportunity of great literary improvement. His numerous original letters, though deficient in scholastic accuracy, always display

the goodness of his heart, and frequently the strength of his native genius. He had a certain laconic mode of expression, and an unaffected epigrammatic turn, which characterized most of his writings.

To compensate partially for the deficiency of education (though nothing can remove or counterbalance the inconveniences experienced from it in public life) he derived from his parents the source of innumerable advantages in the stamina of a vigorous constitution. Nature, liberal in bestowing on him bodily strength, hardiness and activity, was, by no means, parsimonious in mental endowments. While we leave the qualities of the understanding to be developed in the process of life, it may not be improper, in this place, to designate some of the circumstances, which were calculated to distinguish him afterwards as a partizan officer.

COURAGE, enterprize, activity and perseverance were the first characteristics of his mind. There is a kind of mechanical courage, the offspring of pride, habit or discipline, that may push a coward not only to perform his duty, but even to venture on acts of heroism. Putnam's courage was of a dif-

ferent species. His undaunted feelings depended, less than the feelings of most others, on external objects, adventitious aids, or the influence of example. He stood alone, and collected within himself, always possessed in-
 trepidity equal to the occasion. His bravery, that appears to have been constitutional, never for a moment deserted him in the trying situations, to which his life was often exposed. It was a species of cool, deliberate fortitude, not affected by the paroxysm of enthusiasm, or the phrenzy of desperation. It was ever attended with a serenity of soul, a clearness of conception, a degree of self-possession and a superiority to all the vicissitudes of fortune, entirely distinct from any thing that can be produced by the ferment of blood, and flutter of spirits, which, not unfrequently, precipitate men to action, when stimulated by intoxication or some other transient exhilaration. The heroic character, thus founded on constitution and animal spirits, cherished by education and ideas of personal freedom, confirmed by temperance and habits of exercise, was completed by the dictate of reason, the love of his country and an invincible sense of duty. Such were the qualities and principles, that enabled him to meet unappalled the shafts of adversity, and to pass in triumph through the furnace of affliction.

His disposition was as frank and generous, as his mind was fearless and independent. He disguised nothing; indeed he seemed incapable of disguise. Perhaps, in the intercourse he was ultimately obliged to have with an artful world, his sincerity, on some occasions, outwent his discretion. Although he had too much suavity in his nature to commence a quarrel, he had too much sensibility not to feel, and too much honor not to resent an intended insult. The first time he went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size and age; after bearing the sarcasms until his patience was worn out, he challenged, engaged and vanquished his unmannerly antagonist, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. While a stripling his ambition was to perform the labor of a man, and to excel in athletic diversions. In that rude, but masculine age, whenever the village-youth assembled on their usual occasions of festivity; pitching the bar, running, leaping and wrestling were favorite amusements. At such gymnastic exercises (in which during the heroic times of ancient Greece and Rome, conquest was considered as the promise of future military fame) he bore the palm from almost every ring.

BEFORE the refinements of luxury and the consequent increase of expences had rendered the maintenance of a family inconvenient or burdensome in America, the sexes entered into matrimony at an early age. Competence, attainable by all, was the limit of pursuit. After the hardships of making a new settlement were overcome and the evils of penury removed, the inhabitants enjoyed, in the lot of equality, innocence and security, scenes equally delightful with those, pictured by the glowing imagination of the poets, in their favorite pastoral life or fabulous golden age. Indeed the condition of mankind was never more enviable. Neither disparity of age and fortune, nor schemes of ambition and grandeur, nor the pride and avarice of high-minded and mercenary parents, interposed those obstacles to the union of congenial souls, which frequently in more polished society prevent, embitter or destroy all the felicity of the connubial state. Mr. Putnam before he attained the twenty-first year of his age, married Miss Pope, daughter of Mr. John Pope of Salem, by whom he had ten children, seven of whom are still living. He lost the wife of his youth in 1764. Some time after he married Mrs. Gardiner, widow of the late Mr. Gardiner of Gardi-

er's Island, by whom he had no issue. She died in 1777.

IN the year 1739 he removed from Salem to Pomfret, an inland fertile town in Connecticut, forty miles east of Hartford: having there purchased a considerable tract of land, he applied himself successfully to agriculture.

THE first years, on a new farm, are not, however, exempt from disasters and disappointments, which can only be remedied by stubborn and patient industry. Our farmer, sufficiently occupied in building an house and barn, felling woods, making fences, sowing grain, planting orchards and taking care of his stock, had to encounter, in turn, the calamities occasioned by drought in summer, blast in harvest, loss of cattle in winter, and the desolation of his sheep-fold by wolves. In one night he had seventy fine sheep and goats killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded. This havoc was committed by a she-wolf, which, with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity. The young were commonly destroyed by the vigilance of the hunters, but the old one was too sagacious to come within reach of gunshot: upon being closely pursued she would generally fly to the western woods, and re-

turn the next winter with another litter of whelps.

THIS Wolf, at length, became such an intolerable nuisance, that Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with five of his neighbors to hunt alternately until they could destroy her. Two, by rotation, were to be constantly in pursuit. It was known, that, having lost the toes from one foot, by a steel-trap, she made one track shorter than the other. By this vestige, the pursuers recognized, in a light snow, the route of this pernicious animal. Having followed her to Connecticut river and found she had turned back in a direct-course towards Pomfret, they immediately returned, and by ten o'clock the next morning the blood-hounds had driven her into a den, about three miles distant from the house of Mr. Putnam : The people soon collected with dogs, guns, straw, fire and sulphur to attack the common enemy. With this apparatus several unsuccessful efforts were made to force her from the den. The hounds came back badly wounded and refused to return. The smoke of blazing straw had no effect. Nor did the fumes of burnt brimstone, with which the cavern was filled, compel her to quit the retirement. Wearied with such fruitless attempts (which had brought

the time to ten o'clock at night) Mr. Putnam tried once more to make his dog enter, but in vain; he proposed to his negro man to go down into the cavern and shoot the Wolf: the negro declined the hazardous service. When it was that their master, angry at the disappointment, and declaring that he was ashamed to have a coward in his family, resolved himself to destroy the ferocious beast, lest she should escape through some unknown fissure of the rock. His neighbors strongly remonstrated against the perilous enterprize: but he, knowing that wild animals were intimidated by fire, and having provided several strips of birch-bark, the only combustible material which he could obtain, that would afford light in this deep and darksome cave, prepared for his descent. Having, accordingly, divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back, at a concerted signal, he entered head foremost, with the blazing torch in his hand.

THE aperture of the den, on the east side of a very high ledge of rocks, is about two feet square; from thence it descends obliquely fifteen feet, then running horizontally about ten more, it ascends gradually sixteen feet towards its termination. The sides of

this subterraneous cavity are composed of smooth and solid rocks, which seem to have been divided from each other by some former earthquake. The top and bottom are also of stone, and the entrance, in winter, being covered with ice, is exceedingly slippery. It is in no place high enough for a man to raise himself upright: nor in any part more than three feet in width.

HAVING groped his passage to the horizontal part of the den, the most terrifying darkness appeared in front of the dim circle of light afforded by his torch. It was silent as the house of death. None but monsters of the desert had ever before explored this solitary mansion of horror. He, cautiously proceeding onward, came to the ascent; which he slowly mounted on his hands and knees until he discovered the glaring eye-balls of the wolf, who was sitting at the extremity of the cavern. Started at the sight of fire, she gnashed her teeth and gave a sullen growl. As soon as he had made the necessary discovery, he kicked the rope as a signal for pulling him out. The people, at the mouth of the den, who had listened with painful anxiety, hearing the growling of the wolf and supposing their friend to be in the most imminent danger, drew him forth with such ce-

larity that his shirt was stripped over his head and his skin severely lacerated. After he had adjusted his cloaths and loaded his gun with nine buck-shot, holding a torch in one hand and the musquet in the other, he descended a second time. When he drew nearer than before, the Wolf, assuming a still more fierce and terrible appearance, howling, rolling her eyes, snapping her teeth, and dropping her head between her legs, was evidently in the attitude and on the point of springing at him. At the critical instant he levelled and fired at her head. Stunned with the shock and suffocated with the smoke, he immediately found himself drawn out of the cave. But having refreshed himself and permitted the smoke to dissipate, he went down the third time. Once more he came within sight of the Wolf, who appearing very passive, he applied the torch to her nose; and perceiving her dead, he took hold of her ears, and then kicking the rope (still tied round his legs) the people above, with no small exultation, dragged them both out together.

I HAVE offered these facts in greater detail, because they contain a display of character; and because they have been errone-

ously related in several European publications, and very much mutilated in the history of Connecticut, a work as replete with falsehood as destitute of genius, lately printed in London.

PROSPERITY, at length, began to attend the agricultural affairs of Mr. Putnam. He was acknowledged to be a skilful and indefatigable manager. His fields were mostly enclosed with stone walls. His crops commonly succeeded, because the land was well tilled and manured. His pastures and meadows became luxuriant. His cattle were of the best breed and in good order. His garden and fruit-trees prolific. With the avails of the surplufage of his produce foreign articles were purchased. Within doors he found the compensation of his labors in the plenty of excellent provisions, as well as in the happiness of domestic society.

A MORE particular description of his transition from narrow to easy circumstances might be given; but the mind, that shall have acquired an idea of the habits of labor and simplicity, to which the industrious colonists were accustomed, will readily supply the omission. The effect of this gradual acquisition of property, generally favorable to in-

dividual virtue and public felicity, should not however be passed over in silence. If there is something fascinating in the charms of a country life, from the contemplation of beautiful landscapes; there is likewise something elevating to the soul, in the consciousness of being lord of the soil and having the power of creating them. The man can scarcely be guilty of a sordid action, or even descend to an ungenerous thought, who, removed from the apprehension of want, sees his farm daily meliorating and assuming whatever appearance he pleases to prescribe. This situation converts the farmer into a species of rural philosopher, by inspiring an honest pride in his rank as a freeman, flattering the natural propensity for personal independence, and nourishing an unlimited hospitality and philanthropy in his social character.

BUT the time had now arrived, which was to turn the instruments of husbandry into weapons of hostility, and to exchange the hunting of wolves, who had ravaged the sheepfolds, for the pursuit after Savages who had desolated the frontiers. Mr. Putnam was about 37 years old, when the war between England and France, which preceded the last, broke out in America. His reputation must have been favorably known to the govern-

ment, since among the first troops that were levied by Connecticut, in 1755, he was appointed to the command of a company in Lyman's regiment of Provincials. I have mentioned his age at this period expressly to obviate a prevalent opinion, that he was far advanced in life when he commenced his military service.

As he was extremely popular, he found no difficulty in enlisting his complement of recruits from the most hardy, enterprising and respectable young men of his neighborhood. The regiment joined the army, at the opening of the campaign, not far distant from Crown-Point. Soon after his arrival in camp, he became intimately connected with the famous partizan Captain, afterwards, Major Rogers; with whom he was frequently associated in traversing the wilderness, reconnoitring the enemy's lines, gaining intelligence, and taking straggling prisoners; as well as in beating up the quarters and surprising the advanced pickets of their army. For these operations a corps of rangers, was formed from the irregulars. The first time Rogers and Putnam were detached with a party of these light troops it was the fortune of the latter to preserve, with his own hand, the life of the former, and to cement their

friendship with the blood of one of their enemies. The object of this expedition was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the position and state of the works at Crown Point. It was impracticable to approach with their party near enough for this purpose, without being discovered. Alone, the undertaking was sufficiently hazardous, on account of the swarms of hostile Indians, who infested the woods. Our two partizans, however, left all their men at a convenient distance, with strict orders to continue concealed until their return. Having thus cautiously taken their arrangements, they advanced with the profoundest silence, in the evening; and lay, during the night, contiguous to the fortrefs. Early in the morning, they approached so close as to be able to give satisfactory information, to the general who had sent them, on the several points to which their attention had been directed: but Captain Rogers, being at a little distance from Captain Putnam, fortuitously met a stout Frenchman, who instantly seized his fuzee with one hand and with the other attempted to stab him, while he called to an adjacent guard for assistance. The guard answered. Putnam, perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, and that no time was to be lost or farther alarm given by fir-

ing, ran rapidly to them, while they were yet struggling, and with the butt-end of his piece laid the Frenchman dead at his feet. The partizans, to elude pursuit, precipitated the flight, joined the party and returned without loss to the encampment. Not many occasions occurred for partizans to display their talents in the course of this summer. The war was chequered with various fortunes in different quarters—such as the total defeat of General Braddock, and the splendid victory of Sir William Johnson over the French troops commanded by the Baron Dieskau. The brilliancy of this success was necessary to console the Americans for the disgrace of that disaster. Here I might, indeed, take a pride in contrasting the conduct of the British Regulars, who had been ambuscaded on the Monongahela; with that of the Provincials (under Johnson) who, having been attacked in their lines, gallantly repulsed the enemy and took their General prisoner: did I consider myself at liberty to swell this essay with reflections on events, in which Putnam was not directly concerned. The time for which the colonial troops engaged to serve, terminated with the campaign. Putnam was re-appointed and again took the field in 1756.

FEW are so ignorant of war as not to know

that military adventures, in the night, are always extremely liable to accidents. Captain Putnam, having been commanded to reconnoitre the enemy's camp at *the Ovens*, near *Ticonderoga*, took the brave Lieutenant Robert Durkee as his companion. In attempting to execute these orders, he narrowly missed being taken himself in the first instance and killing his friend in the second. It was customary for the British and Provincial troops to place their fires round their camp, which frequently exposed them to the enemy's scouts and patrols. A contrary practice, then unknown in the English army, prevailed among the French and Indians. The plan was much more rational; they kept their fires in the centre, lodged their men circularly at a distance and posted their centinels in the surrounding darkness. Our partizans approached the camp—and supposing the centries were within the circle of fires, crept upon their hands and knees with the greatest possible caution, until, to their utter astonishment, they found themselves in the thickest of the enemy. The centinels, discovering them, fired and slightly wounded Durkee in the thigh. He and Putnam had no alternative. They fled. The latter, being foremost and scarcely able to see his hand before him, soon plunged into a clay-pit. Durkee,

almost at the identical moment, came tumbling after. Putnam, by no means pleased at finding a companion and believing him to be one of the enemy, lifted his tomahawk to give the deadly blow—when Durkee, (who had followed so closely as to know him) enquired whether he had escaped unhurt. Captain Putnam, instantly recognizing the voice, dropped his weapon: and both, springing from the pit, made good their retreat to the neighboring ledges, amidst a shower of random shot. There they betook themselves to a large log, by the side of which they lodged, the remainder of the night. Before they lay down, Captain Putnam said he had a little rum in his canteen, which could never be more acceptable or necessary; but on examining the canteen, which hung under his arm, he found the enemy had pierced it with their balls and that there was not a drop of liquor left. The next day he found fourteen bullet holes in his blanket.

In the same summer a body of the enemy, consisting of 600 men, attacked the baggage and provision waggons at a place called the half-way brook; it being equidistant from Fort Edward, and the south end of lake George. Having killed the oxen and plundered the waggons, they retreated with their

booty without having met with such resistance
 as might have been expected from the strength
 of the escort. General Webb, upon receiving
 intelligence of this disaster, ordered the
 Captains Putnam and Rogers "to take 100
 volunteers in boats, with two wall-pieces
 and two blunderbusses, and to proceed
 down lake George to a certain point: there
 to leave the batteaux under a proper guard,
 and thence to cross by land so as to harraßs
 and if practicable intercept the retreating
 enemy at the narrows." These orders
 were executed with so much punctuality, that
 the party arrived at the destined place half an
 hour before the hostile boats came in view.
 Here they waited, under cover, until the en-
 emy (ignorant of these proceedings) entered
 the narrows with their batteaux loaded with
 plunder. Then the volunteers poured upon
 them volley after volley, killed many of the
 oarsmen, sunk a number of the batteaux,
 and would soon have destroyed the whole
 body of the enemy, had not the unusual pre-
 cipitancy of their passage (favored by the
 wind) carried them through the narrows into
 the wide part of South Bay; where they were
 out of the reach of musquet shot. The shat-
 tered remnant of the little fleet soon arrived
 at Ticonderoga and gave information that
 Putnam and Rogers were at the narrows. A

fresh party was instantly detached to cut them in pieces, on their return to Fort Edward. Our partizans, sensible of the probability of such an attempt, and being full twenty miles from their boats, strained every nerve to reach them as soon as possible ; which they effected the same night. Next day, when they had returned as far as Sabbathday Point, they discovered, on shore, the before mentioned detachment of 300 men, who had passed them in the night, and who now, on perceiving our party, took to their boats with the greatest alacrity, and rowed out to give battle. They advanced in line, maintaining a good mein and felicitating themselves upon the prospect of an easy conquest, from the great superiority of their numbers. Flushed with these expectations, they were permitted to come within pistol-shot before a gun was fired. At once, the wall-pieces and blunderbusses, which had been brought to rake them in the most vulnerable point, were discharged. As no such reception had been foreseen, the assailants were thrown into the utmost disorder. Their terror and confusion were greatly encreased by a well-directed and most destructive fire of the small arms. The larger pieces being reloaded, without annoyance, continued alternately with the musquetry to make dreadful havoc, until the rout

as completed and the enemy driven back to Ticonderoga. In this action, one of the bark canoes contained twenty Indians, of whom fifteen were killed. Great numbers, from other boats, both of French and Indians were seen to fall overboard: but the account of their total loss could never be ascertained. Rogers and Putnam had but one man killed and two slightly wounded. They now landed on the point and having refreshed their men at leisure, returned in good order to the British camp.

Soon after these rencounters, a singular kind of race was run by our nimble-footed provincial and an active young Frenchman. The liberty of each was by turns at stake. General Webb, wanting a prisoner for the sake of intelligence, sent Capt. Putnam with five men to procure one. The Captain concealed himself near the road which leads from Ticonderoga to the Ovens. His men seemed fond of shewing themselves, which unsoldierlike conduct he prohibited with the severest reprehension. This rebuke they imputed to unnecessary fear. The observation as true as vulgar, that persons, distinguishable for temerity when there is no apparent danger, are generally poltroons whenever danger approaches. They had not lain long,

in the high grass, before a Frenchman and an Indian passed—the Indian was considerably in advance. As soon as the former had gone by, Putnam, relying on the fidelity of his men, sprang up, ran and ordered them to follow. After running about thirty rods, he seized the Frenchman by the shoulders and forced him to surrender : But his prisoner, looking round, perceiving no other enemy and knowing the Indian would be ready in a moment to assist him, began to make an obstinate resistance. Putnam, finding himself betrayed by his men into a perilous dilemma, let go his hold, stepped back and snapped his piece which was levelled at the Frenchman's breast. It missed fire. Upon this, he thought it most prudent to retreat. The Frenchman, in turn, chased him back to his men, who, at last rallied themselves from the grass ; which his prisoner, espying in good time for himself, made his escape. Putnam, mortified that the men had frustrated his success, dismissed them with disgrace ; and, not long after accomplished his object. Such little feats, as the capture of a single prisoner, may be of infinitely more consequence than some, who are unacquainted with military affairs, would be apt to imagine. In a country covered with woods, like that part of America then the seat of war, the difficulty of procuring and

the importance of possessing good intelligence can scarcely be conceived even by European commanders. They, however, who know its value, will not appreciate lightly the services of an able partizan.

Nothing, worthy of remark, happened during this campaign except the loss of Oswego. That Fort, which had been built by General Shirley to protect the peltry trade, cover the country on the Mohawk River and facilitate an invasion of Canada by Frontenac and Niagara, fell into the hands of the enemy with a garrison of sixteen hundred men and one hundred pieces of cannon.

The active services of Captain Putnam on every occasion attracted the admiration of the public, and induced the Legislature of Connecticut to promote him to a majority in 1757.

LORD Loudon was then Commander in Chief of the British forces in America. The expedition against Crown Point, which from the commencement of hostilities had been in contemplation, seemed to give place to a more important operation that was meditated against Louisbourg. But the arrival of the British Squadron at that place prevented the attempt; and the loss of Fort William-Henry served

to class this with the two former unsuccessful campaigns. It was rumoured and partially credited at the time, that General Webb, who commanded in the northern department, had early intimation of the movement of the French army, and might have effectually succoured the garrison. The subsequent facts will place the affair in its proper light.

A FEW days before the siege, Major Putnam, with two hundred men, escorted General Webb from Fort Edward to Fort William-Henry. The object was to examine the state of this fortification, which stood at the southern extremity of Lake George. Several abortive attempts having been made by Major Rogers and others in the night season, Major Putnam proposed to go down the lake in open day-light, land at Northwest-Bay and tarry on shore, until he could make satisfactory discovery of the enemy's actual situation at Ticonderoga and the adjacent posts. The plan (which he suggested) of landing with only five men and sending back the boats, to prevent detection, was deemed too hazardous by the General. At length, however, he was permitted to proceed with eighteen volunteers in three whale boats : but before he arrived at Northwest-Bay he discovered a body of men on an Island. Immediately upon

his, he left two boats to fish at a distance, that they might not occasion an alarm, and returned himself with the information. The General, seeing him rowing back with great velocity, in a single boat, concluded the others were captured and sent a skiff with orders for him alone to come on shore. After advising the General of the circumstances, he urged the expediency of returning to make further discoveries and bring off the boats. Leave was reluctantly given. He found his people, and, passing still onward, discovered (by the aid of a good perspective glass) a large army in motion. By this time several of the advanced canoes had nearly surrounded him, but, by the swiftness of his whale-boats, he escaped through the midst of them. On his return he informed the General minutely of all he had seen, and intimated his conviction that the expedition must obviously be destined against Fort William-Henry. That Commander, strictly enjoining silence on the subject, directed him to put his men under an oath of secrecy and to prepare, without loss of time, to return to the Head Quarters of the Army. Major Putnam observed "he hoped his Excellency did not intend to neglect so fair an opportunity of giving battle, should the enemy presume to land"—"What do you think we should do here," replied the

General. Accordingly the next day he returned and the day after Colonel Monro was ordered from Fort Edward, with his regiment, to reinforce the garrison. That officer took with him all his rich baggage and camp equipage, notwithstanding Major Putnam's advice to the contrary. The day following his arrival, the enemy landed and besieged the place.

The Marquis de Montcalm, Commander in Chief for the French in Canada (intending to take advantage of the absence of a large proportion of the British force, which he understood to be employed under Lord Loudon against Louisbourg) had assembled whatever men could be spared from Ticonderoga, Crown Point and the other garrisons; with these he had combined a considerable corps of Canadians and a larger body of Indians than had ever before been collected: making in the whole an army of nearly eight thousand men. Our garrison consisted of twenty-five hundred and was commanded by Colonel Monro, a very gallant officer; who found the means of sending express after express to General Webb, with an account of his situation and the most pressing solicitation for succour. In the mean time, the army at Fort Edward, which originally amounted to about four

thousand, had been considerably augmented by Johnson's troops and the militia. On the 8th or 9th day after the landing of the French, General Johnson (in consequence of repeated applications) was suffered to march for the relief of the garrison, with all the Provincials, Militia and Putnam's Rangers: but before they had proceeded three miles, the order was countermanded and they returned. M. de Montcalm informed Major Putnam when a prisoner in Canada, that one of his running Indians saw and reported this movement; and, upon being questioned relatively to the numbers, answered in their figurative style, "*If you can count the leaves on the trees, you can count them.*" In effect, the operations of the siege was suspended and preparations made for re-imbarking, when another of the runners reported that the detachment had gone back. The Marquis de Montcalm, provided with a good train of artillery, meeting with no annoyance from the British army, and but inconsiderable interruption from the garrison, accelerated his approaches so rapidly as to obtain possession of the Fort, in a short time after completing the investiture. An intercepted letter from General Webb, advising the surrender, was sent into the Fort to Colonel Monro by the French General.

THE garrison engaged not to serve for eighteen months and were permitted to march out with the honors of war. But the Savages regarded not the capitulation, nor could they be restrained, by the utmost exertion of the Commanding Officer, from committing the most outrageous acts of cruelty. They stripped and plundered all the prisoners, and murdered great numbers in cold blood. Those, who escaped by flight or the protection of the French, arrived in a forlorn condition at Fort Edward : Among these was the Commandant of the Garrison.

THE day succeeding this deplorable scene of carnage and barbarity, Major Putnam having been dispatched with his Rangers, to watch the motions of the enemy, came to the shore, when their rear was scarcely beyond the reach of musquet shot. They had carried off all the cannon, stores and water-craft. The Fort was demolished. The barracks, the out-houses and sutlers booths were heaps of ruins. The fires, not yet extinct, and the smoke, offensive from the mucilaginous nature of the fuel, but illy concealed innumerable fragments of human skulls and bones, and, in some instances carcases half-consumed. Dead bodies, weltering in blood, were every where to be seen, violated with all the

anton mutilations of savage ingenuity. More than one hundred women, some with their brains still oozing from the battered heads, others with their whole hair wrenched collectively with the skin from the bloody skulls, and many (with their throats cut) most humanly stabbed and butchered; lay stripped entirely naked, with their bowels torn out, and afforded a spectacle too horrible for description.

Not long after this misfortune, General Wyman succeeded to the command of Fort Edward. He resolved to strengthen it. For this purpose one hundred and fifty men were employed in cutting timber. To cover them, Captain Little was posted (with fifty British Regulars) at the head of a thick swamp about one hundred rods eastward of the Fort to which his communication lay over a tongue of land, formed on the one side by the swamp and by a creek on the other.

One morning, at day break, a Centinel saw distinctly several birds, as he conceived, come from the swamp and fly over him with incredible swiftness. While he was ruminating on these wonderful birds and endeavoring to form some idea of their color, shape and size, an arrow buried itself in the limb of a tree

just above his head. He now discovered the quality, and design of these winged messengers of fate, and gave the alarm. Instantly the working party began to retreat along the defile. A large body of Savages, had concealed themselves in the morass before the guard was posted, were attempting in this way to kill the centinel without noise, with design to surprize the whole party. Finding the alarm given, they rushed from the covert, shot and tomahawked those who were nearest at hand, and pressed hard on the remainder of the unarmed fugitives. Captain Little flew to their relief, and, by pouring on the Indians a well-timed fire, checked the pursuit and enabled such of the fatigue-men as did not fall in the first onset, to retire to the Fort. Thither he sent for assistance, his little party being almost over-powered by numbers. But the Commandant, imagining that the main body of the enemy were approaching for a general assault, called in his out-posts and shut the gates.

MAJOR Putnam lay, with his Rangers, on an Island adjacent to the Fort. Having heard the musquetry and learned that his friend Captain Little was in the utmost peril, he plunged into the river at the head of his corps and waded through the water towards

the place of engagement. This brought him so near to the Fort, that General Lyman, apprized of his design and unwilling that the lives of a few more brave men should be exposed to what he deemed inevitable destruction, mounted the parapet and ordered him to proceed no farther. The Major only took time to make the best short apology he could and marched on. This is the only instance in the whole course of his military service, wherein he did not pay the strictest obedience to orders; and in this instance his motive was highly commendable. But when such conduct, even if sanctified by success, is passed over with impunity, it demonstrates that all is not right in the military system. In a disciplined army, such as that of the United States became under General Washington, an officer guilty of a slighter violation of orders, however elevated in rank or meritorious in service, would have been brought before the bar of a Court Martial. Were it not for the seductive tendency of a brave man's example, I might have been spared the mortification of making these remarks on the conduct of an officer, whose distinguishing characteristics were promptitude for duty and love of subordination as well as cheerfulness to encounter every species of difficulty and danger.

THE Rangers of Putnam soon opened their way for a junction with the little handful of Regulars, who still obstinately maintained their ground. By his advice the whole rushed impetuously with shouts and huzzas into the swamp. The Savages fled on every side and were chased, with no inconsiderable loss on their part, as long as the day-light lasted. On ours only one man was killed in the pursuit. His death was immediately revenged by that of the Indian who shot him. This Indian was one of the Runners—a chosen body of active young men, who are made use of not only to procure intelligence and convey tidings, but also to guard the rear on a retreat.

HERE it will not be unseasonable to mention some of the customs in war, peculiar to the aborigines, which, on the present as well as other occasions, they put in practice. Whenever a retreating, especially, a flying party had gained the summit of a rising ground; they secreted one or two runners behind trees, copses or bushes to fire at the enemy upon their ascending the hill. This commonly occasioned the enemy to halt and form for battle. In the interim the runners used such dexterity as to be rarely discovered, or if discovered, they vanished behind the height and rejoined their brother-warriors,

who, having thus stolen a distance, were oftentimes seen by their pursuers no more. Or if the pursuers were too eager they seldom failed to atone for their rashness by falling into an ambuscade. The Mohawks, who were afterwards much employed in scouts under the orders of Major Putnam, and who were perfectly versed in all the wiles and stratagems of their countrymen, shewed him the mode of avoiding the evils of either alternative. In suspicious thickets and at the borders of every considerable eminence, a momentary pause was made, while they, in different parts, penetrated or ascended with a cautiousness that cannot be easily described. They seemed all eye and ear. When they found no lurking mischief, they would beckon with the hand and pronounce the word, "ow-ISH," with a long labial hissing, the O being almost quiescent. This was ever the watch-word for the main body to advance.

INDIANS, who went to war together and who for any reason found it necessary to separate into different routes, always left two or three Runners at the place of separation, to give timely notice to either party in case of pursuit.

If a warrior chanced to straggle and lose

himself in the woods, or to be retarded by accident or wound; the party missing him would frequently, on their march, break down a bush or a shrub and leave the top pointing in the direction they had gone, that the straggler, when he should behold it, might shape his course accordingly.

WE come to the campaign when General Abercrombie took the command at Fort Edward. That General ordered Major Putnam, with sixty men, to proceed by land to South Bay on Lake George, for the purpose of making discoveries and intercepting the enemy's parties. The latter, in compliance with these orders, posted himself at Wood Creek, near its entrance into South Bay. On this bank, which forms a jutting precipice ten or twelve feet above the water, he erected a stone parapet thirty feet in length; and masked it with young pine-trees, cut at a distance, and so artfully planted as to imitate the natural growth. From hence he sent back fifteen of his men, who had fallen sick. Distress for want of provisions, occasioned by the length of march and time spent on this temporary fortification, compelled him to deviate from a rule he had established, never to permit a gun to be fired but at an enemy, while on a scout. He was now obliged him-

self to shoot a buck, which had jumped into the Creek, in order to eke out their scanty subsistence until the fourth day after the completion of the works. About ten o'clock that evening, one of the men on duty at the margin of the Bay informed him, that a fleet of bark canoes, filled with men, was steering towards the mouth of the creek. He immediately called in all his centinels and ordered every man to his post. A profound stillness reigned in the atmosphere and the full moon shone with uncommon brightness. The creek, which the enemy entered, is about six rods wide, and the bank opposite to the parapet above twenty feet high. It was intended to permit the canoes in front to pass—they had accordingly just passed, when a soldier accidentally struck his firelock against a stone. The commanding officer in the van canoe heard the noise and repeated several times the Savage watch-word OWISH! Instantly the canoes huddled together, with their centre precisely in front of the works, covering the creek, for a considerable distance, above and below. The officers appeared to be in deep consultation and the fleet on the point of returning; when Major Putnam, who had ordered his men in the most peremptory manner, not to fire until he should set the example, gave the signal by discharging his piece.

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They fired. Nothing could exceed the inextricable confusion and apparent consternation occasioned by this well concerted attack. But, at last, the enemy finding, from the unfrequency (though there was no absolute intermission) in the firing, that the number of our men must be small, resolved to land below and surround them. Putnam, apprehensive of this from the movement, sent Lieutenant Robert Durkee*, with twelve men, about thirty rods down the creek, who arrived in time to repulse the party which attempted to land. Another small detachment, under Lieutenant Parsons, was ordered up the creek to prevent any similar attempt. In the mean time, Major Putnam, kept up (through the whole night) an incessant and deadly fire on the main body of the enemy; without receiving any thing in return but shot void of effect, accompanied with dolorous groans, miserable shrieks and dismal savage yells. After

* As the name of the brave Durkee will occur no more in these sheets, I may be indulged in mentioning his melancholy fate. He survived this war, and was appointed a Captain in that war which terminated in the acknowledgement of our Independence. In 1778 he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Savages, at the battle of Wyoming on the Susquehannah. Having been condemned to be burnt, the Indians kept him in the flames with pitchforks, until he expired in the most excruciating torments.

day-break he was advised that one part of the enemy had effected a landing considerably below, and were rapidly advancing to cut off his retreat. Apprised of the great superiority still opposed to him, as well as of the situation of his own soldiers, some of whom were entirely destitute of ammunition, and the rest reduced to one or two rounds per man, he commanded them to swing their packs. By hastening the retreat, in good order, they had just time to retire far enough up the creek to prevent being enclosed. During this long continued action, in which the Americans had slain at least five times their own number, only one Provincial and one Indian were wounded on their side. These unfortunate men had been sent off for camp in the night, with two men to assist them, and directions to proceed by Wood Creek as the safest, though not the shortest, route. But having taken a nearer way, they were pursued and overtaken by the Indians, who, from the blood on the leaves and bushes, believed that they were on the trail of our whole party. The wounded, despairing of mercy and unable to fly, insisted that the well soldiers should make their escape, which, on a moment's deliberation, they effected. The Provincial, whose thigh was broken by a ball, upon the approach of the Savages fired his piece and

killed three of them; after which he was quickly hacked in pieces. The Indian, however, was saved alive. This man, Major Putnam saw, afterwards, in Canada. Where he likewise learned that his enemy in the rencounter at Wood Creek consisted of five hundred French and Indians, under the command of the celebrated partizan Molang, and that no party, since the war, had suffered so severely, as more than one half of those who went out never returned.

Our brave little company, reduced to forty in number, had proceeded along the bank of the creek about an hour's march, when Major Putnam, being in front, was fired upon by a party just at hand. He, rightly appreciating the advantage often obtained by assuming a bold countenance on a critical occasion, in a stentorophonic tone ordered his men to rush on the enemy and promised that they should soon give a good account of them. It proved to be a scout of Provincials, who conceived they were firing upon the French; but the Commanding Officer, knowing Putnam's voice, cried out "that they were all " friends."—Upon this the Major told him abruptly, "that friends or enemies, they all " deserved to be hanged for not killing more " when they had so fair a shot." In fact,

but one man was mortally wounded. While these things were transacted, a faithful soldier, whose ammunition had been early exhausted, made his way to the Fort and gave such information, that General Lyman was detached with five hundred men to cover the retreat. Major Putnam met them at only twelve miles distance from the Fort, to which they returned the next day.

In the winter of 1757, when Colonel Haviland was Commandant of Fort Edward, the barracks adjoining to the north-west bastion took fire. They extended within twelve feet of the Magazine, which contained three hundred barrels of powder. On its first discovery, the fire raged with great violence. The Commandant endeavored, in vain, by discharging some pieces of heavy artillery against the supporters of this flight of barracks, to level them with the ground. Putnam arrived from the Island where he was stationed, at the moment when the blaze approached that end which was contiguous to the Magazine. Instantly a vigorous attempt was made to extinguish the conflagration. A way was opened by a postern gate to the river, and the soldiers were employed in bringing water; which he, having mounted on a ladder to the eaves of the building, received and threw up-

on the flame. It continued, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to gain upon them. He stood, enveloped in smoke, so near the sheet of fire, that a pair of thick blanket mittens were burnt entirely from his hands—he was supplied with another pair dipt in water. Colonel Haviland fearing that he would perish in the flames, called to him to come down. But he entreated that he might be suffered to remain, since destruction must inevitably ensue if their exertions should be remitted. The gallant Commandant not less astonished than charmed at the boldness of his conduct, forbade any more effects to be carried out of the Fort, animated the men to redoubled diligence, and exclaimed “ if we “ must be blown up, we will go all together.” At last, when the barracks were seen to be tumbling, Putnam descended, placed himself at the interval, and continued from an incessant rotation of replenished buckets to pour water upon the Magazine. The outside planks were already consumed by the proximity of the fire; and as only one thickness of timber intervened, the trepidation now became general and extreme. Putnam, still undaunted, covered with a cloud of cinders and scorched with the intensity of the heat, maintained his position until the fire subsided and the danger was wholly over. He had contended for one

hour and an half with that terrible element. His legs, his thighs, his arms and his face were blistered; and when he pulled off his second pair of mittens the skin from his hands and fingers followed them. It was a month before he recovered. The Commandant, to whom his merits had before endeared him, could not stifle the emotions of gratitude, due to the man who had been so instrumental in preserving the Magazine, the Fort and the Garrison.

THE repulse before Ticonderoga took place in 1758. General Abercrombie, the British Commander in Chief in America, conducted the expedition. His army, which amounted to nearly sixteen thousand Regulars and Provincials, was amply supplied with Artillery and military Stores. This well-appointed corps passed over Lake George, and landed, without opposition, at the point of destination. The troops advanced in columns. Lord Howe having Major Putnam with him, was in front of the center. A body of about five hundred men (the advance or pickets of the French army) which had fled at first, began to skirmish with our left. "Putnam," said Lord Howe, "what means that firing?" "I know not, but with your Lordship's leave" "will see," replied the former. "I will ac-

“ company you,” rejoined the gallant young Nobleman. In vain did Major Putnam attempt to dissuade him by saying—“ My Lord, if I am killed, the loss of my life will be of little consequence, but the preservation of your’s is of infinite importance to this army.” The only answer was, “ Putnam, your life is as dear to you as mine is to me; I am determined to go.” One hundred of the van, under Major Putnam, filed off with Lord Howe. They soon met the left flank of the enemy’s advance, by whose first fire his Lordship fell.—It was a loss indeed; and particularly felt in the operations which occurred three days afterwards. His manners and his virtues, had made him the idol of the army. From his first arrival in America, he had accommodated* himself and his regiment to the peculiar nature of the service. Exemplary to the officer, a friend of the soldier, the model of discipline, he had not failed to encounter every hardship and hazard. Nothing could be more calculated to inspire men with the rash animation of rage, or to temper it with the cool perseverance of revenge, than the sight

* He cut his hair short and induced the Regiment to follow the example. He fashioned their cloathing for the activity of service, and divested himself and them of every article of superfluous baggage.

of such a hero, so beloved, fallen in his country's cause. It had the effect. Putnam's party, having cut their way obliquely through the enemy's ranks, and having been joined by Captain D'Ell with twenty men, together with some other small parties, charged them so furiously in rear, that nearly three hundred were killed on the spot and one hundred and forty-eight made prisoners. In the mean time, from the unskillfulness of the guides, some of our columns were bewildered. The left wing, seeing Putnam's party in their front, advancing over the dead bodies towards them, commenced a brisk and heavy fire, which killed a Serjeant and several privates. Nor could they, by sounds or signs, be convinced of their mistake, until Major Putnam, preferring (if Heaven had thus ordained it) the loss of his own life to the loss of the lives of his brave associates, ran through the midst of the flying balls and prevented the impending catastrophe.

THE tender feelings, which Major Putnam possessed, taught him to respect an unfortunate foe and to strive by every lenient art in his power to alleviate the miseries of war. For this purpose he remained on the field, until it began to grow dark, employed in collecting such of the enemy as were left wound-

ed to one place ; he gave them all the liquor and little refreshments which he could procure ; he furnished to each of them a blanket ; he put three blankets under a French Serjeant who was badly wounded through the body, and placed him in an easy posture by the side of a tree—the poor fellow could only squeeze his hand with an expressive grasp. “ Ah,” said Major Putnam, “ depend upon it, my brave Soldier, you shall be brought to the camp as soon as possible, and the same care shall be taken of you as if you were my brother.”—The next morning Major Rogers was sent to reconnoitre the field and to bring off the wounded prisoners—but finding the wounded unable to help themselves, in order to save trouble, he dispatched every one of them to the world of Spirits. Putnam’s was not the only heart that bled : The Provincial and British Officers who became acquainted with the fact were struck with inexpressible horror.

TICONDEROGA is surrounded on three sides by water, on the fourth, for some distance extends a dangerous morass, the remainder was then fortified with a line eight feet high and planted with artillery. For one hundred yards in front, the plain was covered with great trees, cut for the purpose of defence ;

whose interwoven and sharpened branches projected outwards. Notwithstanding these impediments, the Engineer, who had been employed to reconnoitre, reported, as his opinion, that the works might be carried with musquetry. The difficulty and delay of dragging the battering cannon, over grounds almost impracticable, induced the adoption of this fatal advice—to which, however, a rumour that the garrison, already consisting of four or five thousand men, was on the point of being augmented with three thousand more, probably contributed. The attack was as spirited in execution as ill-judged in design. The assailants, after having been for more than four hours exposed to a most fatal fire, without having made any impression by their reiterated and obstinate proofs of valor, were ordered to retreat. Major Putnam, who had acted as an aid in bringing the Provincial regiments successively to action, assisted in preserving order. It was said that a great number of the enemy were shot in the head, every other part having been concealed behind their works. The loss on our side was upwards of two thousand killed and wounded. Twenty-five hundred stands of arms were taken by the French. Our army, after sustaining this havoc, retreated with such extraordinary precipitation, that they regained their camp at

the southward of Lake George, the evening after the action.

THE successes, in other parts of America, made amends for this defeat. Louisbourg, after a vigorous siege, was reduced by the Generals Amherst and Wolf; Frontenac, a post of importance on the communication between Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, surrendered to Colonel Bradstreet; and Fort Du Quesne, situated at the confluence of the Monongahela with the Ohio (the possession of which had kindled the flame of war, that now spread through the four quarters of the globe) was captured by General Forbes.

A few adventures, in which the public interests were little concerned, but which from their peculiarity appear worthy of being preserved, happened before the conclusion of the year. As one day, Major Putnam chanced to lie, with a batteau and five men, on the eastern shore of the Hudson, near the Rapids, contiguous to which Fort Miller stood; his men on the opposite bank gave him to understand that a large body of Savages were in his rear and would be upon him in a moment.—To stay and be sacrificed—to attempt crossing and be shot—or to go down the falls, with an almost absolute certainty of being drown-

ed ; were the sole alternatives, that presented themselves to his choice. So instantaneously was the latter adopted, that one man who had rambled a little from the party, was, of necessity, left, and fell a miserable victim to savage barbarity. \ The Indians arrived on the shore soon enough to fire many balls on the batteau before it could be got under way. No sooner had our batteau-men escaped, by favor of the rapidity of the current, beyond the reach of musket shot ; than death seemed only to have been avoided in one form, to be encountered in another, not less terrible. Prominent rocks, latent shelves, absorbing eddies, and abrupt descents, for a quarter of a mile, afforded scarcely the smallest chance of escaping without a miracle. Putnam, trusting himself to a good Providence whose kindness he had often experienced, rather than to men, whose tenderest mercies are cruelty, was now seen to place himself sedately at the helm, and afford an astonishing spectacle of serenity : His companions, with a mixture of terror, admiration and wonder, saw him, incessantly changing the course, to avoid the jaws of ruin, that seemed expanded to swallow the whirling boat. Twice he turned it fairly round to shun the rifts of rocks. Amidst these eddies in which there was the greatest danger of its foundering, at one mo-

ment the sides were exposed to the fury of the waves; then the stern, and next the bow glanced obliquely onward, with inconceivable velocity.—With not less amazement the Savages beheld him sometimes mounting the billows, then plunging abruptly down, at other times skillfully veering from the rocks, and shooting through the only narrow passage; until, at last, they viewed the boat safely gliding on the smooth surface of the stream below. At this sight, it is asserted, that these rude sons of nature were affected with the same kind of superstitious veneration, which the Europeans in the dark ages entertained for some of their most valorous champions. They deemed the man invulnerable, whom their balls (on his pushing from shore) would not touch; and whom they had seen steering in safety down the rapids that had never before been passed. They conceived it would be an affront against the *Great Spirit*, to attempt to kill this favored mortal with powder and ball, if they should ever see and know him again.

IN the month of August, five hundred men were employed, under the orders of the Majors, Rogers and Putnam, to watch the motions of the enemy near Ticonderoga. At South Bay they separated the party into two

equal divisions, and Rogers took a position on Wood Creek twelve miles distant from Putnam. Upon being, some time afterwards, discovered, they formed a re-union and concerted measures for returning to Fort Edward. Their march through the woods, was *in three divisions by FILES*, the right commanded by Rogers, the left by Putnam and the centre by Captain D'Ell. The first night they encamped on the banks of *Clear River*, about a mile from old Fort Ann, which had been formerly built by General Nicholson. Next morning, Major Rogers and a British officer, named Irwin, incautiously suffered themselves, from a spirit of false emulation, to be engaged in firing at a mark. Nothing could have been more repugnant to the military principles of Putnam than such conduct; or reprobated by him in more pointed terms. As soon as the heavy dew which had fallen the preceding night would permit, the detachment moved in one body, Putnam being in front, D'Ell in center and Rogers in the rear. The impervious growth of shrubs and underbrush that had sprung up, where the land had been partially cleared some years before, occasioned this change in the order of march. At the moment of moving, the famous French partizan Molang, who had been sent with five hundred men to intercept our party, was

not more than one mile and an half distant from them. Having heard the firing, he hastened to lay an ambuscade precisely in that part of the wood most favorable to his project. Major Putnam was just emerging from the thicket into the common forest, when the enemy rose, and with discordant yells and whoops, commenced an attack upon the right of his division. Surprised, but undismayed, Putnam halted, returned the fire and passed the word for the other divisions to advance for his support. D'Ell came. The action, though widely scattered and principally fought between man and man, soon grew general and intensely warm. It would be as difficult as useless to describe this irregular and ferocious mode of fighting. Rogers came not up: but, as he declared afterwards, formed a circular file between our party and Wood Creek to prevent their being taken in rear or enfiladed. Successful as he commonly was, his conduct did not always pass without unfavorable imputation. Notwithstanding it was a current saying in the camp, "that Rogers "always *sent*, but Putnam *led* his men to action," yet, in justice, it ought to be remarked here, that the latter has never been known, in relating the story of this day's disaster, to affix any stigma upon the conduct of the former.

MAJOR Putnam, perceiving it would be impracticable to cross the Creek, determined to maintain his ground. Inspired by his example, the officers and men behaved with great bravery : sometimes they fought aggregately in open view, and sometimes individually under cover ; taking aim from behind the bodies of trees and acting in a manner independent of each other. For himself, having discharged his fuzee several times, at length it missed fire, while the muzzle was pressed against the breast of a large and well proportioned Savage. This *warrior*, availing himself of the indefensible attitude of his adversary, with a tremendous war-whoop sprang forward, with his lifted hatchet, and compelled him to surrender ; and having disarmed and bound him fast to a tree, returned to the battle.

THE intrepid Captains D'Elt and Harman, who now commanded, were forced to give ground for a little distance : the Savages, conceiving this to be the certain harbinger of victory, rushed impetuously on, with dreadful and redoubled cries. But our two partizans, collecting a handful of brave men, gave the pursuers so warm a reception as to oblige them, in turn, to retreat a little beyond the spot at which the action had commenced,

Here they made a stand. This change of ground occasioned the tree to which Putnam was tied to be directly between the fire of the two parties. Human imagination can hardly figure to itself a more deplorable situation. The balls flew incessantly from either side, many struck the tree, while some passed through the sleeves and skirts of his coat. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, to stir his limbs or even to incline his head, he remained more than an hour. So equally balanced and so obstinate was the fight! At one moment, while the battle swerved in favor of the enemy, a young Savage, chose an odd way of discovering his humour. He found Putnam bound. He might have dispatched him at a blow. But he loved better to excite the terrors of the prisoner, by hurling a tomahawk at his head—or rather it should seem his object was to see how near he could throw it without touching him—the weapon struck in the tree a number of times at a hair's breadth distance from the mark. When the Indian had finished his amusement, a French Bas-Officer (a much more inveterate savage by nature, though descended from so humane and polished a nation) perceiving Putnam, came up to him, and, levelling a fuzee within a foot of his breast attempted to discharge it; it missed

fire—ineffectually did the intended victim, solicit the treatment due to his situation, by repeating, that he was a prisoner of war. The degenerate Frenchman did not understand the language of honor or of nature : deaf to their voice and dead to sensibility, he violently and repeatedly pushed the muzzle of his gun against Putnam's ribs, and finally gave him a cruel blow on the jaw with the butt of his piece. After this dastardly deed he left him.

At length the active intrepidity of D'Ell and *Harman, seconded by the persevering valor of their followers, prevailed. They drove from the field the enemy, who left about ninety dead behind them. As they were retiring Putnam was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner and whom he afterwards called master. Having been conducted for some distance from the place of action, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings and shoes ; loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be piled upon him ; strongly pinioned, and his wrists tied as closely together as they could be pulled with a cord. After he had marched, through no pleasant paths, in this painful

* This worthy officer is still living at Marlborough, in the State of Massachusetts.

manner, for many a tedious mile; the party (who were excessively fatigued) halted to breathe. His hands were now immoderately swelled from the tightness of the ligature: and the pain had become intolerable. His feet were so much scratched that the blood dropped fast from them. Exhausted with bearing a burden above his strength, and frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance; he entreated the Irish Interpreter to implore as the last and only grace he desired of the Savages, that they would knock him on the head and take his scalp at once, or loose his hands. A French officer, instantly interposing, ordered his hands to be unbound and some of the packs to be taken off. By this time the Indian who captured him and had been absent with the wounded, coming up, gave him a pair of Moccasins and expressed great indignation at the unworthy treatment his prisoner had suffered.

THAT Savage Chief again returned to the care of the wounded, and the Indians, about two hundred in number, went before the rest of the party to the place where the whole were, that night, to encamp. They took with them Major Putnam, on whom (besides innumerable other outrages) they had the barbarity to inflict a deep wound with a tomahawk, in the

left cheek. His sufferings were in this place to be consummated. A scene of horror, infinitely greater than had ever met his eyes before, was now preparing. It was determined to roast him alive.—For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree and piled dry brush with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labors, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. Then they set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it, until, at last, the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, at the very idea of which all but Savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution and composed his mind, as far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost a single pang but for the idea of home, but for the

remembrance of domestic endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past—nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things—when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself—to whom a Savage, unwilling to see another human sacrifice immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That Commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians, whose nocturnal Powwas and hellish Orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French Commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained until he could deliver him in safety into the hands of his master.

THE Savage approached his prisoner kindly and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit, but finding that he could not chew them, on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more humane Savage soaked

some of the biscuit in water and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to lose his captive (the refreshment being finished) he took the mocasons from his feet and tied them to one of his wrists: then directing him to lie down on his back upon the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree; the other arm, was extended and bound in the same manner—his legs were stretched apart and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender poles were cut down; which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot: on each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable and painful posture he remained until morning. During this night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling, when he reflected on this ludicrous groupe for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

THE next day he was allowed his blanket and mocasons, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little

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bear's meat was given, which he sucked through his teeth. At night, the party arrived at Ticonderoga and the prisoner was placed under the care of a French guard. The Savages, who had been prevented from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took every opportunity of manifesting their malevolence for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures ; but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

AFTER having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

AT this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Major Putnam's arrival, than he went to the Interpreter's quarters and enquired, whether he had a Provincial Major in his custody ? He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition—without coat, waistcoat or hose—the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged—his beard long and squalid—his legs torn by thorns and briars—his face gashed

with wounds, and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufferance at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits, consistent with the prudence of a prisoner and the meekness of a christian. Major Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, cloathed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by that liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed.

THE capture of Frontenac by General Bradstreet afforded occasion for an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Schuyler was comprehended in the cartel. A generous spirit can never be satisfied with imposing tasks for its generosity to accomplish. Apprehensive, if it should be known that Putnam was a distinguished partizan, his liberation might be retarded, and knowing that there were officers, who, from the length of their captivity, had a claim of priority to exchange; he had, by his happy address, induced the Governor to offer, that whatever officer he might think proper to nominate, should be included in the present cartel. With great politeness in manner, but seeming indifference as to object, he expressed his warmest acknowledgements to the Governor and said: "There is
" an old man here, who is a Provincial Ma-

“ jor and wishes to be at home with his wife
 “ and children. He can do no good here,
 “ or any where else : I believe, your Excel-
 “ lency had better keep some of the young
 “ men, who have no wife or children to care
 “ for, and let the old fellow go home with
 “ me.” This justifiable finesse had the de-
 sired effect.

AT the house of Colonel Schuyler, Major
 Putnam became acquainted with Mrs. Howe,
 a fair captive, whose history would not be read
 without emotion if it could be written in the
 same affecting manner, in which I have often
 heard it told. She was still young and hand-
 some herself, though she had two daughters of
 marriageable age. Distress, which had tak-
 en somewhat from the original redundancy of
 her bloom and added a softening paleness to
 her cheeks, rendered her appearance the more
 engaging. Her face, that seemed to have
 been formed for the assemblage of dimples
 and smiles, was clouded with care. The
 natural sweetness was not, however, soured
 by despondency and petulance ; but chasten-
 ed by humility and resignation. This mild
 daughter of sorrow looked as if she had known
 the day of prosperity, when serenity and glad-
 ness of soul were the inmates of her bosom.
 That day was past, and the once lively fea-

tures now assumed a tender melancholy, which witnessed her irreparable loss. She needed not the customary weeds of mourning or the fallacious pageantry of woe to prove her widowed state. She was in that stage of affliction, when the excess is so far abated as to permit the subject to be drawn into conversation without opening the wound afresh. It is then rather a source of pleasure than pain to dwell upon the circumstances in narration. Every thing conspired to make her story interesting. Her first husband had been killed and scalped by the Indians some years before. By an unexpected assault in 1756 upon Fort Dummer, where she then happened to be present with Mr. Howe her second husband, the Savages carried the Fort, murdered the greater part of the garrison, mangled in death her husband and led her away with seven children into captivity. She was for some months kept with them: and during their rambles she was frequently on the point of perishing with hunger, and as often subjected to hardships seemingly intolerable to one of so delicate a frame. Some time after the career of her miseries began, the Indians selected a couple of their young men to marry her daughters. The fright and disgust which the intelligence of this intention occasioned to these poor young creatures added infinitely

to the sorrows and perplexities of their frantic mother. To prevent the hated connection all the activity of female resource was called into exertion. She found an opportunity of conveying to the Governor a Petition that her daughters might be received into a convent for the sake of securing the salvation of their souls. Happily the pious fraud succeeded.

ABOUT the same time the Savages separated and carried off her five other children into different tribes. She was ransomed by an elderly French officer for four hundred livres. Of no avail were the cries of this tender mother—a mother desolated by the loss of her children, who were thus torn from her fond embraces and removed many hundred miles from each other, into the utmost recesses of Canada. With them (could they have been kept together) she would most willingly have wandered to the extremities of the world, and accepted as a desirable portion the cruel lot of slavery for life. But she was precluded from the sweet hope of ever beholding them again. The insufferable pang of parting and the idea of eternal separation planted the arrows of despair deep in her soul. Though all the world was no better than a desert, and all its inhabitants were then indifferent to her

—yet the loveliness of her appearance in sorrow had awakened affections, which, in the aggravation of her troubles, were to become a new source of afflictions.

THE officer, who bought her of the Indians, had a son who also held a commission and resided with his father. During her continuance in the same house, at St. John's, the double attachment of the father and the son rendered her situation extremely distressing. It is true the calmness of age delighted to gaze respectfully on her beauty, but the impetuosity of youth was fired to madness by the sight of her charms. One day the son, whose attentions had been long lavished upon her in vain, finding her alone in a chamber, forcibly seized her hand and solemnly declared that he would now satiate the passion which she had so long refused to indulge. She recurred to intreaties, struggles and tears, those prevalent female weapons, which the distraction of danger not less than the promptness of genius is wont to supply: while he, in the delirium of vexation and desire, snatched a dagger and swore he would put an end to her life if she persisted to struggle. Mrs. Howe, assuming the dignity of conscious virtue, told him it was what she most ardently wished, and begged him to plunge the

poignard through her heart, since the mutual importunities and jealousies of such rivals had rendered her life, though innocent, more irksome and insupportable than death itself. Struck with a momentary compunction, he seemed to relent and to relax his hold—and she, availing herself of his irresolution or absence of mind, escaped down the stairs. In her disordered state, she told the whole transaction to his father: who directed her in future to sleep in a small bed at the foot of that in which his wife lodged. The affair soon reached the Governor's ears, and the young officer was, shortly afterwards, sent on a tour of duty to *Detroit*.

THIS gave her a short respite; but she dreaded his return and the humiliating insults for which she might be reserved. Her children, too, were ever present to her melancholy mind. A stranger, a widow, a captive, she knew not where to apply for relief. She had heard of the name of Schuyler—she was yet to learn that it was only another appellation for the friend of suffering humanity. As that excellent man was on his way from Quebec to the Jerseys, under a parole for a limited time, she came with feeble and trembling steps to him. The same maternal passion, which, sometimes, overcomes the timidity of

nature in the birds when plundered of their callow nestlings, emboldened her, notwithstanding her native diffidence, to disclose those griefs which were ready to devour her in silence. While her delicate aspect was heightened to a glowing blush, for fear of offending by an inexcuseable importunity, or of transgressing the rules of propriety by representing herself as being an object of admiration; she told, with artless simplicity, all the story of her woes. Colonel Schuyler from the moment became her protector and endeavored to procure her liberty. The person who purchased her from the Savages, unwilling to part with so fair a purchase, demanded a thousand livres as her ransom. But Colonel Schuyler, on his return to Quebec, obtained from the Governor an order, in consequence of which Mrs. Howe was given up to him for four hundred livres—Nor did his active goodness rest, until every one of her five sons was restored to her.

BUSINESS having made it necessary that Colonel Schuyler should precede the prisoners who were exchanged, he recommended the fair captive to the protection of his friend Putnam. She had just recovered from the measles when the party was preparing to set off for New-England. By this time the

young French officer had returned, with his passion rather encreased than abated by absence. He pursued her wheresoever she went, and, although he could make no advances in her affection, he seemed resolved by perseverance to carry his point. Mrs. Howe terrified by his treatment was obliged to keep constantly near Major Putnam, who informed the young officer that he should protect that lady at the risque of his life. However, this amorous and rash lover, in whose boiling veins such an agitation was excited, that while he was speaking of her the * blood would frequently gush from his nostrils, followed the prisoners to Lake Champlain, and when the boat in which the fair captive was embarked had pushed from the shore, he jumped into the Lake and swam after her until it rowed out of sight. Whether he perished in this distracted state of mind or returned to the shore is not known.

IN the long march from captivity, through an inhospitable wilderness, encumbered with five small children, she suffered incredible hardships. Though endowed with mascu-

* This physical effect, wonderful as it may appear, is so far from being a fictitious embellishment, that it can be proved by the most solemn testimony of more than one person still living.

ine fortitude, she was truly feminine in strength and must have fainted by the way, had it not been for the assistance of Major Putnam. There were a thousand good offices which the helplessness of her condition demanded and which the gentleness of his nature delighted to perform. He assisted in leading her little ones and in carrying them over the swampy grounds and runs of water, with which their course was frequently imperfected. He mingled his own mefs with that of the widow and the fatherless, and assisted them in supplying and preparing their provisions. Upon arriving within the settlements they experienced a reciprocal regret at separation, and were only consoled by the expectation of soon mingling in the embraces of their former acquaintances and dearest connections.

AFTER the conquest of Canada in 1760, she made a journey to Quebec in order to bring back her two daughters whom she had left in a convent. She found one of them married to a French officer. The other, having contracted a great fondness for the religious sisterhood, with reluctance consented to leave them and return.

A FEW years previous to the war between

Great Britain and America, a question of some consequence arose respecting the title of the lands in Hinsdale (the town in which Mrs. Howe resided) inasmuch that it was deemed expedient, that an Agent should be sent to England to advocate the claim of the town. It may be mentioned as a proof of the acknowledged superiority of the understanding and address of this gentlewoman, that she was universally designated for the mission. But the dispute was fortunately accommodated to the satisfaction of the people, without their being obliged to make use of her talents.

WE now arrive at the period, when the prowess of Britain, victorious, alike by sea and by land, in the new and in the old world, had elevated that name to the zenith of national glory. The conquest of Quebec, opened the way for the total reduction of Canada. On the side of the Lakes, Amherst having captured the posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, applied himself to strengthen the latter. Putnam, who had been raised to the rank of a Lieutenant Colonel and present at these operations, was employed the remainder of this and some part of the succeeding season in superintending the parties which were detached to procure timber and other materials for the fortification.

IN 1760 General Amherst, a sagacious, humane and experienced commander, planned the termination of the war in Canada, by a bloodless conquest. For this purpose, three armies were destined to co-operate by different routes against Montreal, the only remaining place of strength the enemy held in that country. The Corps formerly commanded by General Wolf, now by General Murray, was ordered to ascend the river St. Lawrence; another (under Col. Haviland) to penetrate by the Isle aux Noix; and the third, consisting of about ten thousand men, commanded by the General himself, after passing up the Mohawk river and taking its course by the lake Ontario, was to form a junction by falling down the St. Lawrence. In this progress, more than one occasion presented itself to manifest the intrepidity and soldiership of Lieutenant Colonel Putman. Two armed vessels obstructed the passage and prevented the attack on Oswegatchie. Putnam, with 1000 men, in 50 batteaux, undertook to board them. This dauntless officer, ever sparing of the blood of others, as prodigal of his own, to accomplish it with the less loss, put himself (with a chosen crew, a beetle and wedges) in the van with a design to wedge the rudders, so that the vessels should not be able to turn their broadsides or perform any

other manœuvre. All the men in his little fleet were ordered to strip to their waistcoats and advance at the same time. He promised, if he lived, to join and shew them the way up the sides. Animated by so daring an example, they moved swiftly, in profound stillness, as to certain victory or death. The people on board the ships, beholding the good countenance with which they approached, ran one of the vessels on shore and struck the colours of the other. Had it not been for the dastardly conduct of the ship's company in the latter, who compelled the Captain to haul down his ensign, he would have given the assailants a bloody reception. For the vessels were well provided with spears, nettles and every customary instrument of annoyance as well as defence.

It now remained to attack the fortress which stood on an Island and seemed to have been rendered inaccessible by an high abbat-tis of black-ash, that every where projected over the water. Lieutenant Colonel Putnam proposed a mode of attack and offered his services to carry it into effect. The General approved the proposal. Our partizans accordingly, caused a sufficient number of boats to be fitted for the enterprize. The sides of each boat were surrounded with fas-

cines (musquet proof) which covered the men compleatly. A wide plank, twenty feet in length, was then fitted to every boat in such manner, by having an angular piece sawed from one extremity, that when fastened by ropes on both sides of the bow, it might be raised or lowered at pleasure. The design was that the plank should be held erect, while the oarsmen forced the bow with their utmost exertion against the abatis; and that, afterwards being dropped on the pointed brush, it should serve as a kind of bridge to assist the men in passing over them. Lieutenant Col. Putnam, having made his dispositions to attempt the escalade in many places at the same moment, advanced with his boats in admirable order. The garrison, perceiving these extraordinary and unexpected machines, waited not the assault, but capitulated. Lieutenant Colonel Putnam was particularly honored by General Amherst, for his ingenuity in this invention, and promptitude in its execution. The three armies arrived at Montreal, within two days of each other; and the conquest of Canada became compleat, without the loss of a single drop of blood.

At no great distance from Montreal stands the Savage village, called Cochnawaga. Here our partizan found the Indian Chief,

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who had formerly made him prisoner. That Indian was highly delighted to see his old acquaintance, whom he entertained in his own well-built stone house, with great friendship and hospitality; while his guest did not discover less satisfaction in an opportunity of shaking the brave Savage by the hand and proffering him protection in this reverse of his military fortunes.

WHEN the belligerent powers were considerably exhausted, a rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain in the month of January 1762, and an expedition was formed that campaign, under Lord Albermarle, against the Havannah. A body of Provincials, composed of five hundred men from the Jerseys, eight hundred from New-York and one thousand from Connecticut, joined his Lordship. General Lyman, who raised the regiment of one thousand men in Connecticut, being the senior officer, commanded the whole: of course the immediate command of his regiment devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Putman. The fleet, that carried these troops, sailed from New-York and arrived safely on the coast of Cuba. There a terrible storm arose, and the transport, in which Lieutenant Colonel Putnam had embarked with five hundred men, was



wrecked on a rift of craggy rocks. The weather was so tempestuous and the surf, which ran mountain-high, dashed with such violence against the ship, that the most experienced seamen expected it would soon part asunder. The rest of the fleet, so far from being able to afford assistance, with difficulty rode out the gale. In this deplorable situation, as the only expedient by which they could be saved, strict order was maintained and all those people, who best understood the use of tools, instantly employed in constructing rafts from spars, plank and whatever other materials could be procured. There happened to be on board a large quantity of strong cords (the same that are used in the whale fishery) which, being fastened to the rafts, after the first had with inconceivable hazard reached the shore, were of infinite service in preventing the others from driving out to sea, as also in dragging them athwart the billows to the beach: by which means, every man was finally saved. With the same presence of mind to take advantage of circumstances and the same precaution to prevent confusion, on similar occasions, how many valuable lives, prematurely lost, might have been preserved as blessings to their families, their friends, and their country. As soon as all were landed, Lieutenant Colonel

Putnam fortified his camp, that he might not be exposed to insult from the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts or from those of Carthagena, who were but twenty-four miles distant. Here the party remained unmolested several days, until the storm had so much abated, as to permit the convoy to take them off. They soon joined the troops before the Havannah, who, having been several weeks in that unhealthy climate, already began to grow extremely * sickly. The opportune arrival of the Provincial reinforcement, in perfect health, contributed not a little to forward the works and hasten the reduction of that important place. But the Provincials suffered so miserably by sickness, afterwards, that very few ever returned to their native land again.

ALTHOUGH a general peace among the Eu-

* Colonel Haviland (an accomplished officer several times mentioned in these memoirs) who brought to America a regiment of one thousand Irish veterans, had but seventy men remaining alive when he left the Havana. Colonel Haviland, during this siege, having once with his regiment engaged and routed five hundred Spaniards, met Colonel Putnam on his return and said—“ Putnam, give me a pinch of snuff.” “ I never carry any,” returned Putnam.—“ I have always just such luck,” cried Haviland, “ the rascally Spaniards have shot away my pocket, snuff-box and all.”

ropean powers was ratified in 1763, yet the savages on our western frontiers still continued their hostilities. After they had taken several posts, General Bradstreet was sent in 1764 with an army against them. Colonel Putnam, then for the first time appointed to the command of a regiment, was on the expedition; as was the Indian Chief (whom I have several times had occasion to mention as his capturer) at the head of one hundred Cochnawaga warriors. Before General Bradstreet reached Detroit, which the savages invested, Captain D'Ell, the faithful friend and intrepid fellow-soldier of Colonel Putnam, had been slain in a desperate sally. He, having been detached with five hundred men in 1763 by General Amherst, to raise the siege, found means of throwing the succour into the fort. But the garrison (commanded by Major Gladwine, a brave and sensible officer) had been so much weakened, by the lurking and insidious mode of war practiced by the savages, that not a man could be spared to co-operate in an attack upon them. The commandant would even have dissuaded Captain D'Ell from the attempt, on account of the great disparity in numbers; but the latter, relying on the discipline and courage of his men, replied "God forbid that I should ever disobey the orders of my Gen-

“ eral,” and immediately disposed them for action. It was obstinate and bloody. But the vastly superior number of the savages enabled them to enclose Captain D’Ell’s party on every side, and compelled him finally to fight his way in retreat from one stone-house to another. Having halted to breathe a moment, he saw one of his bravest sergeants lying at a small distance wounded through the thigh and wallowing in his blood. Whereupon he desired some of the men to run and bring the sergeant to the house, but they declined it. Then declaring “ that he never “ would leave so brave a soldier in the field, “ to be tortured by the savages,” he ran and endeavored to help him up—at the instant, a volley of shot dropped them both dead together. The party continued retreating from house to house until they regained the fort; where it was found the conflict had been so sharp and lasted so long, that only fifty men remained alive of the five hundred who had sallied.

UPON the arrival of General Bradstreet, the Savages saw that all further efforts in arms would be vain, and, accordingly, after many fallacious proposals for a peace, and frequent tergiversations in the negotiation, they concluded a treaty, which ended the war in America.

COLONEL Putnam, at the expiration of ten years from his first receiving a Commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers and acquired as many laurels as any officer of his rank, with great satisfaction, laid aside his uniform and returned to his plough. The various and uncommon scenes of war in which he had acted a respectable part, his intercourse with the world and intimacy with some of the first characters in the army, joined with occasional reading, had not only brought into view whatever talents he possessed from nature, but, at the same time, had extended his knowledge and polished his manners to a considerable degree. Not having become inflated with pride or forgetful of his old connections, he had the good fortune to possess entirely the good will of his fellow citizens. No character stood fairer in the public eye for integrity, bravery and patriotism. He was employed in several offices in his own town and not unfrequently elected to represent it in the General Assembly. The year after his return to private life, the minds of men were strangely agitated, by an attempt of the British Parliament, to introduce the memorable Stamp Act in America. This germe of policy, whose growth was repressed by the moderate temperature in which

it was kept by some administrations, did not fully disclose its fruit until nearly eleven years afterwards. All the world knows how it then ripened into a civil war.

ON the twenty-second day of March 1765 the Stamp Act received the royal assent. It was to take place in America on the first day of November following. This innovation spread a sudden and universal alarm. The political pulse in the Provinces, from *Main* to *Georgia*, throbbed in sympathy. The Assemblies in most of these colonies, that they might oppose it legally and in concert, appointed Delegates to confer together on the subject. This first Congress met, early in October, at New-York. They agreed upon a Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists; together with separate Addresses to the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain. In the mean time, the people had determined, in order to prevent the stamped paper from being distributed, that the Stamp Masters should not enter on the execution of their office. That appointment, in Connecticut, had been conferred upon Mr. Ingersol, a very dignified, sensible and learned native of the colony; who, upon being solicited to resign, did not, in the first instance, give a satisfactory answer. In con-

sequence of which, a great number of the substantial yeomanry, on horseback, furnished with provisions for themselves, and provender for their horses, assembled in the eastern counties and began their march for New-Haven to receive the resignation of Mr. Ingersol. A junction with another body was to have been formed in Branford. But having learned at Hartford, that Mr. Ingersol would be in town the next day to claim protection from the Assembly, they took quarters there and kept out patrols during the whole night, to prevent his arrival without their knowledge. The succeeding morning they resumed their march and met Mr. Ingersol in Wethersfield. They told him their business, and he, after some little hesitation, mounted on a round table and read his resignation*.

* The curious may be pleased to know that the Resignation was expressed in these explicit terms :

Wethersfield, September 9th, 1765.

“ I do hereby promise, that I never will receive any
 “ stamped papers which may arrive from Europe, in
 “ consequence of an Act lately passed in the Parliament
 “ of Great Britain ; nor officiate as Stamp Master or
 “ Distributor of Stamps, within the colony of Connecticut,
 “ either directly or indirectly. And I do hereby
 “ notify to all the Inhabitants of his Majesty's Colony of
 “ Connecticut (notwithstanding the said office or trust
 “ has been committed to me) not to apply to me, ever
 “ after, for any stamped paper ; *hereby declaring that I*

That finished, the multitude desired him to cry out "liberty and property" three times; which he did, and was answered by three loud huzzas. He then dined with some of the principal men at a tavern, by whom he was treated with great politeness, and afterwards was escorted by about five hundred horse to Hartford: where he again read his resignation amidst the unbounded acclamations of the people. I have chosen to style this collection the *yeomanry*, the *multitude*, or the *people*, because I could not make use of the English word *mob* (which generally signifies a disorderly concurrence of the rabble) without conveying an erroneous idea. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the people, their object being effected, without offering disturbance, dispersed to their homes*.

" *do resign the said office, and execute these PRESENTS*
 " *of my own FREE WILL AND ACCORD, without any*
 " *equivocation or mental reservation.*

" In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand,
 J. INGERSOL.

* To give a trait of the urbanity that prevailed, it may not be amiss to mention a jest that passed in the cavalcade to Hartford, and was received with the most perfect good humor. Mr. Ingersol, who, by chance rode a white horse, being asked "what he thought, to find himself attended by such a retinue?"—replied, "that he had now a clearer idea than ever he had before conceived, of that passage in the Revelations, which describes, *Death on a pale horse and Hell following him.*"

COLONEL Putnam, who instigated the people to these measures, was prevented from attending by accident. But he was deputed soon after, with two other gentlemen, to wait on Governor Fitch on the same subject. The questions of the Governor and answers of Putnam will serve to indicate the spirit of the times. After some conversation, the Governor asked, "what he should do if the stamped paper should be sent to him by the King's authority?"—Putnam replied, "lock it up until we shall visit you again."—"And what will you do then?" "We shall expect you to give us the key of the room in which it is deposited; and, if you think fit in order to screen yourself from blame, you may forewarn us upon our peril not to enter the room."—"And what will you do afterwards?"—"Send it safely back again."—"But what if I should refuse admission?"—"In such a case, your house will be levelled with the dust in five minutes."—It was supposed that a report of this conversation was one reason why the stamped paper was never sent from New-York to Connecticut.

SUCH unanimity in the Provincial Assemblies and decision in the yeomanry carried, beyond the Atlantic, a conviction of the in-

expediency of attempting to enforce the new Revenue System. The Stamp Act being repealed and the apprehensions in a measure quieted: Colonel Putnam continued to labor with his own hands, at farming, without interruption, except, (for a little time) by the loss of the first joint of his right thumb from one accident, and the compound fracture of his right thigh from another—that thigh, being rendered nearly an inch shorter than the left, occasioned him ever after to limp in his walk.

THE Provincial Officers and Soldiers from Connecticut, who survived the conquest of the Havannah, appointed General Lyman to receive the remainder of their prize money in England. A company, composed partly of military and partly of other gentlemen, whose object was to obtain from the Crown a grant of Land on the Mississippi, also committed to him the negotiation of their affairs. When several years had elapsed in applications, a Grant of Land was obtained. In 1770 General Lyman, with Colonel Putnam and two or three others went to explore the situation. After a tedious voyage and a laborious passage up the Mississippi, they accomplished their business.

GENERAL Lyman came back to Connecticut with the Explorers, but soon returned to the Natchez : there formed an Establishment and laid his bones. Colonel Putnam placed some laborers with provisions and farming utensils upon his location, but the encreasing troubles shortly after ruined the prospect of deriving any advantage from that quarter.

IN speaking of the troubles that ensued, I not only omit to say any thing, on the obnoxious claim asserted in the British declaratory act, the continuation of the duty on tea, the attempt to obtrude that article upon the Americans, the abortion of this project, the Boston Port Bill, the alteration of the charter of Massachusetts, and other topics of universal notoriety ; but even wave all discussion of irritations on the one part and supplications on the other, which preceded the war between Great-Britain and her colonies on this continent. It will ever be acknowledged by those who were best acquainted with facts, and it should be made known to posterity, that the king of England had not, in his extensive dominions, subjects more loyal, more dutiful or more zealous for his glory than the Americans ; and that nothing short of a melancholy persuasion, that the " measures which
" for many years had been systematically

" pursued, by his ministers, were calculated
 " to subvert their constitutions," could have
 dissolved their powerful attachment to that
 kingdom, which they fondly called their *pa-*
rent country. Here, without digressing to
 develop the cause, or describe the progress,
 it may suffice to observe, the dispute now
 verged precipitately to an awful crisis. Most
 considerate men foresaw it would terminate
 in blood. But, rather than suffer the chains
 (which they believed in preparation) to be
 rivetted, they nobly determined to sacrifice
 their lives. In vain did they deprecate the
 infatuation of those transatlantic councils
 which drove them to deeds of desperation.
 Convinced of the rectitude of their cause,
 and doubtful of the issue, they felt the most
 painful solicitude for the fate of their coun-
 try, on contemplating the superior strength
 of the nation with which it was to contend.
 America, thinly inhabited, under thirteen dis-
 tinct colonial governments, could have little
 hope of success, but from the protection of
 providence and the unconquerable spirit of
 freedom which pervaded the mass of the peo-
 ple : it is true, since the peace, she had sur-
 prisingly encreased in wealth and population
 —but the resources of Britain almost exceed-
 ed credibility or conception. It is not won-
 derful then, that some good citizens, of weak

er nerves, recoiled at the prospect: while others, who had been officers in the late war, or who had witnessed by travelling the force of Britain, stood aloof. All eyes were now turned to find the men, who, possessed of military experience, would dare, in the approaching hour of severest trial, to lead their undisciplined fellow-citizens to battle. For none were so stupid as not to comprehend that want of success would involve the leaders in the punishment of rebellion. Putnam was among the first and most conspicuous who stepped forth. Although the Americans had been, by many who wished their subjugation, indiscreetly as indiscriminately stigmatised with the imputation of cowardice—he felt—he knew for himself, he was no coward; and from what he had seen and known, he believed that his countrymen, driven to the extremity of defending their rights by arms, would find no difficulty in wiping away the ungenerous aspersions. As he happened to be often at Boston, he held many conversations on these subjects with General Gage the British Commander in Chief, Lord Percy, Colonel Sheriff, Colonel Small and many officers with whom he had formerly served, who were now at the Head Quarters. Being often questioned, “in case the dispute should proceed to hostilities, what part he would really

“ take ?” He always answered, “ with his
 “ country, and that, let whatever might hap-
 “ pen, he was prepared to abide the conse-
 “ quence.” Being interrogated “ whether
 “ *be*, who had been a witness to the prowess
 “ and victories of the British fleets and armies,
 “ did not think them equal to the conquest of a
 “ country which was not the owner of a sin-
 “ gle Ship, Regiment or Magazine ?” He
 rejoined that “ he could only say justice
 “ would be on our side and the event with
 “ Providence: but that he had calculated,
 “ if it required six years for the combined
 “ forces of England and her Colonies to con-
 “ quer such a feeble country as Canada; it
 “ would at least, take a very long time for
 “ England alone to overcome her own wide-
 “ ly extended Colonies, which were much
 “ stronger than Canada: That when men
 “ fought for every thing dear, in what they
 “ believed to be the most sacred of all caus-
 “ es, and in their own native land; they
 “ would have great advantages over their
 “ enemies, who were not in the same situa-
 “ tion: and that, having taken into view
 “ all circumstances, for his own part, he ful-
 “ ly believed that America would not be so
 “ easily conquered by England as those gen-
 “ tlemen seemed to expect. Being once, in
 particular, asked, “ whether he did not seri-

" ously believe that a well appointed British
 " army of five thousand veterans could march
 " through the whole continent of America?"
 He replied briskly, " no doubt, if they be-
 " haved civilly and paid well for every thing
 " they wanted"—" but"—after a moment's
 pause added—" if they should attempt it in a
 " hostile manner (though the American men
 " were out of the question) the women, with
 " their ladles and broomsticks, would knock
 " them all on the head before they had got
 " half way through." This was the tenor,
 our hero hath often told me, of these amicable
 interviews. And thus, (as it commonly hap-
 pens in disputes, about future events, which
 depend on opinion) they parted without con-
 viction: no more to meet in a friendly man-
 ner, until after the appeal should have been
 made to Heaven and the issue confirmed by
 the sword.. In the mean time, to provide a-
 gainst the worst contingency, the militia in
 the several Colonies was sedulously trained;
 and those select companies, the flower of our
 youth, which were denominated minutemen,
 agreeably to the indication of their name,
 held themselves in readiness to march at a mo-
 ment's warning.

At length the fatal day arrived, when hos-
 tilities commenced. General Gage, in the

evening of the 18th of April 1775, detached from Boston the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Army, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Smith, to destroy some military and other stores deposited by the Province at Concord. About sunrise the next morning the Detachment, on marching into Lexington, fired upon a company of militia who had just reassembled: for having been alarmed late at night with reports that the Regulars were advancing to demolish the stores, they collected on their parade, and were dismissed with orders to reassemble at beat of drum. It is established by the affidavits of more than thirty persons who were present, that the first fire, which killed eight of the militia then beginning to disperse, was given by the British without provocation. The spark of war, thus kindled, ran with unexampled rapidity and raged with unwonted violence. To repel the aggression, the people of the bordering towns spontaneously rushed to arms and poured their scattering shot from every convenient station upon the Regulars; who, after marching to Concord and destroying the Magazine, would have found their retreat intercepted, had they not been reinforced by Lord Piercy with the battalion companies of three regiments and a body of marines. Notwithstanding the junction they were hard

pushed and pursued until they could find protection from their ships. Of the British two hundred and eighty-three were killed, wounded and taken. The Americans had thirty-nine killed, nineteen wounded and two made prisoners.

NOTHING could exceed the celerity with which the intelligence flew every where, that blood had been shed by the British troops. The country, in motion, exhibited but one scene, of hurry, preparation and revenge. Putnam, who was ploughing when he heard the news, left his plough in the middle of the field, unyoked his team, and without waiting to change his cloaths, set off for the theatre of action. But finding the British retreated to Boston and invested by a sufficient force to watch their movements, he came back to Connecticut, levied a regiment (under authority of the Legislature) and speedily returned to Cambridge*. He was now promoted to be

* An article (void of foundation) mentioning an interview between General Gage and General Putnam appeared in the English Gazettes in these words:
 " General Gage viewing the American army with his
 " telescope, saw General Putnam in it, which surprised
 " him; and he contrived to get a message delivered to
 " him, that he wanted to speak to him. Putnam, with-
 " out any hesitation, waited upon him. General Gage
 " shewed him his fortifications, and advised him to lay

a Major General on the Provincial Staff, by his Colony : and in a little time confirmed by Congress in the same rank on the Continental Establishment. General Ward of Massachusetts, by common consent, commanded the whole : And the celebrated Doctor Warren was made a Major General.

Not long after this period, the British Commander in Chief found the means to convey a proposal, privately, to General Putnam, that, if he would relinquish the Rebel party, he might rely upon being made a Major General on the British Establishment and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services. General Putnam spurned at the offer :

“ down his arms. General Putnam replied, he could
 “ force his fortifications in half an hour, and advised
 “ General Gage to go on board the ships with his troops.”

The apprehension of an attack, is adduced with much more verisimilitude, in M'Fingal, as the reason why General Gage would not suffer the inhabitants to go from the town of Boston, after he had promised to grant permission :

“ So Gage of late agreed, you know,
 “ To let the Boston people go :
 “ Yet when he saw, 'gainst troops that brav'd him,
 “ They were the only guards that sav'd him,
 “ Kept off that Satan of a PUTNAM,
 “ From breaking in to maul and mut'n him,
 “ He'd too much wit such leagues t' observe,
 “ And shut them in again to starve.”

M'FINGAL. Canto 1st.

which, however, he thought prudent at that time to conceal from public notice.

It could scarcely have been expected, but by those credulous patriots who were prone to believe whatever they ardently desired, that officers assembled from colonies distinct in their manners and prejudices, selected from laborious occupations to command a heterogeneous crowd of their equals compelled to be Soldiers only by the spur of occasion, should long be able to preserve harmony among themselves and subordination among their followers. As the fact would be a phænomenon, the idea was treated with mirth and mockery by the friends to the British government. Yet this unshapen embryo of a military Corps, composed of militia, minutemen, volunteers and levies; with a burlesque appearance of multiformity in arms, accoutrements, cloathing and conduct, at last, grew into a regular Army—an Army which, having vindicated the rights of human nature and established the independence of a new Empire, merited and obtained the glorious distinction of the patriot Army—the patriot Army, whose praises for their fortitude in adversity, bravery in battle, moderation in conquest, perseverance in supporting the cruel extremities of hunger and nakedness without

a murmur or sigh, as well as for their magnanimity in retiring to civil life, at the moment of victory, with arms in their hands and without any just compensation for their services, will only cease to be celebrated, when time shall exist no more.

ENTHUSIASM for the cause of liberty, substituted in the place of discipline, not only kept these troops together, but enabled them at once to perform the duties of a disciplined army. Though the Commanding Officers from the four colonies of New-England were in a manner independent, they acted harmoniously in concert. The first attention had been prudently directed towards forming some little redoubts and entrenchments; for it was well known that lines, however slight or untenable were calculated to inspire raw soldiers with a confidence in themselves. The next care was to bring the live stock from the Islands in Boston bay, in order to prevent the enemy (already surrounded by land) from making use of them for fresh provisions. In the latter end of May, between two and three hundred men were sent to drive off the stock from Hog and Noddle Islands, which are situated on the North-East side of Boston harbour. Advantage having been taken of the ebb-tide, when the water is fordable between

the main and Hog Island, as it is between that and Noddle Island, the design was effected. But a skirmish ensued in which some of the Marines, who had been stationed to guard them, were killed : and as the firing continued between the British water-craft and our party, a reinforcement of three hundred men, with two pieces of artillery, was ordered to join the latter. General Putnam took the command, and having himself gone down on the beach within conversing distance and *ineffectually* ordered the people on board an armed Schooner to strike, he plied her with shot so furiously that the crew made their escape and the vessel was burnt. An armed sloop was likewise so much disabled as to be towed off by the boats of the fleet. Thus ended this affair, in which several hundred sheep and some cattle were removed from under the muzzles of the enemy's cannon, and our men accustomed to stand fire, by being for many hours exposed to it without meeting with any loss.

THE Provincial Generals, having received advice that the British Commander in Chief designed to take possession of the heights on the peninsula of Charles Town, detached a thousand men in the night of the 16th of June, under the orders of General Warren, to en-

trench themselves upon one of these eminences, named Bunker Hill. Though retarded by accidents from beginning the work until nearly midnight, yet, by dawn of day, they had constructed a redoubt about eight rods square and commenced a breast-work from the left to the low grounds; which an insufferable fire from the shipping, floating batteries and cannon on Cop's Hill, in Boston, prevented them from compleating. At mid-day four battalions of foot, ten companies of Grenadiers, ten companies of Light Infantry, with a proportion of artillery, commanded by Maj. Gen. Howe, landed under a heavy cannonade from the ships and advanced in three lines to the attack. The Light infantry, being formed on their right, was directed to turn the left flank of the Americans: and the Grenadiers, supported by two Battalions, to storm the redoubt in front. Meanwhile, on application, these troops were augmented by the 47th Regiment, the 1st Battalion of Marines, together with some companies of Light Infantry and Grenadiers, which formed an aggregate force of between two and three thousand men. But so difficult was it to reinforce the Americans, by sending detachments across the Neck which was raked by the cannon of the shipping, that not more than fifteen hundred men were brought into action. Few instances can be

produced in the annals of mankind where Soldiers, who had never before faced an enemy or heard the whistling of a ball, behaved with such deliberate and persevering valor. It was not until after the Grenadiers had been twice repulsed to their boats, General Warren slain, his troops exhausted of their ammunition, their lines in a manner enfiladed by artillery, and the redoubt half filled with British Regulars, that the word was given to retire. In that forlorn condition, the spectacle was astonishing as new, to behold these undisciplined men, most of them without bayonets, disputing with the butt end of their muskets against the British bayonet and receding in sullen despair. Still the Light Infantry, on their left, would certainly have gained their rear and exterminated this gallant little corps, had not a body of four hundred Connecticut men, with the Captains Knoulton and Chester, after forming a temporary breast-work by pulling up one post and rail fence and putting it upon another, performed prodigies of bravery. They held the enemy at bay until the main body had relinquished the heights and then retreated across the neck with more regularity and less loss than could have been expected. The British, who effected nothing but the destruction of Charles Town by a wanton conflagration, had more

than one half of their whole number killed and wounded : the Americans only three hundred and fifty-five killed, wounded and missing. In this battle the presence and example of General Putnam, who arrived with the reinforcement, were not less conspicuous than useful. He did every thing that an intrepid and experienced officer could accomplish. The enemy pursued to Winter Hill—Putnam made a stand and drove them back under cover of their ships.

THE premature death of Warren, one of the most illustrious patriots that ever bled in the cause of Freedom ; the veteran appearance of Putnam, collected yet ardent in action ; together with the astonishing scenery and interesting groupe around Bunker Hill ; rendered this a magnificent subject for the historic pencil. Accordingly Trumbull, formerly an Aid de Camp to General Washington, afterwards Deputy Adjutant General of the northern Army, now an artist of great celebrity in Europe, hath finished this picture with that boldness of conception and those touches of art which demonstrates the master. Heightened in horror by the flames of a burning town and the smoke of conflicting armies, the principal scene, taken the moment when Warren fell, represents that hero in the ago-

nies of death, a Grenadier on the point of bayonetting him and Colonel Small (to whom he was familiarly known) arresting the Soldier's arm: at the head of the British line Major Pitcairne is seen falling dead into the arms of his son: and not far distant General Putnam is placed at the rear of our retreating troops, in the light blue and scarlet uniform he wore that day, with his head uncovered, and his sword waving towards the enemy, as it were to stop their impetuous pursuit. In nearly the same attitude he is exhibited by Barlow in that excellent Poem the Vision of Columbus.

" There strides bold Putnam and from all the plains,
 " Calls the tired host, the tardy rear sustains,
 " And, mid the whizzing death's that fill the air,
 " Waves back his sword and dares the foll'wing war."*

* The writer of this Essay had occasion of remarking to the Poet and the Painter, while they were three thousand miles distant from each other (at which distance they had formed and executed the plans of their respective productions) the similarity observable in their descriptions of General Putnam. These *Chefs d'œuvres* are mentioned, not with a vain presumption of adding éclat or duration to works which have received the seal of immortality, but because they preserve in the sister arts the same illustrious action of our hero. I persuade myself I need not apologize for annexing the beautiful lines from the poem in question, on the death of General Warren.

AFTER this action, the British strongly fortified themselves on the Peninsulas of Boston and Charles Town : while the Provincials remained posted in the circumjacent country in such manner as to form a blockade. In the beginning of July, General Washington, who had been constituted by Congress Commander in Chief of the American forces, arrived at Cambridge to take the command. Having formed the army into three grand divisions, consisting of about twelve Regiments each, he appointed Major General Ward to command the right Wing, Major General Lee the left Wing and Major General Putnam the reserve. General Putnam's alertness, in accelerating the construction of the necessary defences, was particularly noticed and highly approved by the Commander in Chief.

About the 20th of July, the Declaration of Congress, setting forth the reasons of their taking up arms, was proclaimed at the head of the several Divisions. It concluded with

“ There, hapless Warren, thy cold earth was seen,
 “ There spring thy laurels in immortal green ;
 “ Dearest of Chiefs, that ever press'd the plain,
 “ In Freedom's cause, with early honors, slain,
 “ Still dear in death, as when in fight you mov'd,
 “ By hosts applauded and by Heav'n approv'd ;
 “ The faithful muse shall tell the world thy fame,
 “ And unborn realms resound th' immortal name.”

these patriotic and noble sentiments. “ In
 “ our own native land, in defence of the free-
 “ dom that is our birth right, and which we
 “ ever enjoyed until the late violation of it;
 “ for the protection of our property, acquir-
 “ ed solely by the honest industry of our
 “ forefathers and ourselves; against violence
 “ actually offered, we have taken up arms.
 “ We shall lay them down when hostilities
 “ shall cease on the part of the aggressors,
 “ and all danger of their being renewed shall
 “ be removed, and not before.

“ With an humble confidence in the mer-
 “ cies of the supreme and impartial Judge
 “ and Ruler of the Universe, we most de-
 “ voutly implore his divine goodness to con-
 “ duct us happily through this great conflict,
 “ to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation
 “ on reasonable terms, and, thereby, to re-
 “ lieve the empire from the calamities of ci-
 “ vil war.”—As soon as these memorable
 words were pronounced to General Putnam’s
 Division, which he had ordered to be paraded
 on Prospect Hill, they shouted in three Huz-
 zas a loud amen! Whereat (a cannon from
 the Fort being fired as a signal) the new *Stand-*
ard, lately sent from Connecticut, was sud-
 denly seen to rise and unroll itself to the wind.
 On one side was inscribed in large letters of

Gold "AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN," and on the other were delineated the armorial bearings of Connecticut, which without supporters or crest, consist unostentatiously of *three Vines*: with this motto, "**Qui transtulit, sustinet*;" alluding to the pious confidence our forefathers placed in the protection of Heaven, on those three allegorical Scions—KNOWLEDGE—LIBERTY—RELIGION—which they had been instrumental in transplanting to America.

THE strength of position on the enemy's part and want of ammunition on our's prevented operations of magnitude from being attempted. Such diligence was used in fortifying our camps and such precaution adopted to prevent surprize, as to ensure tranquillity to the troops during the winter. In the spring a position was taken, so menacing to the enemy as to cause them, on the 17th of March 1776, to abandon Boston: not without considerable precipitation and dereliction of royal stores.

As a part of the hostile fleet lingered for sometime in Nantasket road (about nine miles below Boston) General Washington

* Literally, "*He who transplanted will support them.*"

continued himself in Boston, not only to see the coast entirely clear, but also to make many indispensable arrangements. His Excellency, proposing to leave Major General Ward with a few regiments, to finish the fortifications intended as a security against an attack by water, in the mean time dispatched the greater part of the army to New-York, where it was most probable the enemy would make a descent. Upon the sailing of a fleet with troops in the month of January, Major General Lee had been sent to the defence of that city; who, after having caused some works to be laid out, proceeded to follow that fleet to South Carolina. The Commander in Chief was now exceedingly solicitous that these works should be completed as soon as possible, and accordingly gave the following

“ Orders and Instructions for Major General Putnam.

“ As there are the best reasons to believe
 “ that the enemy’s fleet and army, which left
 “ Nantasket road last Wednesday evening,
 “ are bound to New-York to endeavor to
 “ possess that important post, and, if possible,
 “ to secure the communication by Hudson’s River to Canada; it must be our

“ care to prevent them from accomplishing
 “ their designs. To that end, I have de-
 “ tached Brigadier General Heath with the
 “ whole body of Rifle men and five Batta-
 “ lions of the Continental Army, by the way
 “ of Norwich in Connecticut, to New-York.
 “ These by an express arrived yesterday from
 “ General Heath, I have reason to believe
 “ are in New-York. Six more Battalions,
 “ under General Sullivan, march this morn-
 “ ing by the same route, and will, I hope,
 “ arrive there in eight or ten days at farthest.
 “ The rest of the army will immediately fol-
 “ low in Divisions, leaving only a conveni-
 “ ent space between each division, to prevent
 “ confusion and want of accommodation up-
 “ on their march. You will no doubt make
 “ the best dispatch in getting to New-York.
 “ Upon your arrival there you will assume
 “ the command and immediately proceed in
 “ continuing to execute the *plan* proposed by
 “ Major General Lee, for fortifying that ci-
 “ ty and securing the passes of the East and
 “ North Rivers. If, upon consultation with
 “ the Brigadiers General and Engineers, any
 “ alteration in that *plan* is thought necessa-
 “ ry, you are at liberty to make it : cautious-
 “ ly avoiding to break in too much upon his
 “ main design, unless where it may be ap-
 “ parently necessary so to do, and that by the

“ general voice and opinion of the gentlemen abovementioned.

“ You will meet the Quarter Master General Colonel Mifflin, and *Commissary General at New-York. As these are both men of excellent talents in their different Departments, you will do well to give them all the authority and assistance they require: And should a Council of War be necessary, it is my direction they assist at it.

“ Your *long Service and Experience* will better than my particular directions at this distance, point out to you the works most proper to be first raised; and your perseverance, activity and zeal will lead you (without my recommending it) to exert every *Nerve* to disappoint the enemy's designs.

“ Devoutly praying that the Power which has hitherto sustained the American Arms, may continue to bless them with the divine protection, I bid you—FAREWELL.

Given at Head Quarters, in Cambridge,
this 29th of March 1776.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

* Colonel Joseph Trumbull, eldest son to the Governor of that name.

INVESTED with these commands, General Putnam travelled by long and expeditious stages to New-York. His first precaution, upon his arrival, was to prevent disturbance, or surprise in the night season. With these objects in view, after posting the necessary guards, he issued his * Orders. He instituted, likewise, other wholesome regulations to meliorate the police of the troops and to preserve the good agreement that subsisted between them and the citizens.

NOTWITHSTANDING the war had now raged, in other parts, with unaccustomed severity for nearly a year, yet the British ships at New-York (one of which had once fired upon the town to intimidate the inhabitants) found the means of being supplied with fresh water and provisions. General Putnam re-

* General Orders.

“ Head Quarters New-York April 5, 1776.”

“ The Soldiers are strictly enjoined to retire to their barracks and quarters, at tattoo-beating, and to remain there until the reveille is beat.

“ Necessity obliges the General to desire the inhabitants of the city to observe the same rule, as no person will be permitted to pass any centry, after this night, without the countersign.

“ The Inhabitants, whose business requires it, may know the countersign by applying to any of the Brigade-Majors.”

solved to adopt effectual measures for putting a period to this intercourse and accordingly expressed his prohibition* in the most pointed terms.

NEARLY at the same moment, a detachment of a thousand Continentals was sent to occupy Governor's Island, a Regiment to fortify Red Hook, and some companies of Riflemen to the Jersey shore. Of two boats, (belonging to two armed vessels) which attempted to take on board fresh water from the watering place on Staten-Island, one was

* PROHIBITION.

“ Head Quarters, New-York, April 8, 1776.

“ The General informs the inhabitants that it is become absolutely necessary, that all communication between the ministerial fleet and shore should be immediately stopped ; for that purpose he has given positive orders, the ships should no longer be furnished with provisions. Any inhabitants or others, who shall be taken that have been on board (after the publishing this order) or near any of the ships or going on board will be considered as enemies and treated accordingly.

“ All boats are to sail from Beekman's slip. Captain James Alner is appointed Inspector and will give permits to Oystermen. It is ordered and expected that none attempt going without a pass.”

ISRAEL PUTNAM, Major General in
in the Continental Army and Com-
mander in Chief of the forces in New-
York.

driven off (by the Riflemen) with two or three seamen killed in it; and the other captured with thirteen. A few days afterwards Captain Vandeput of the *Asia* man of war, the senior officer of the ships on this station, finding the intercourse with the shore interdicted, their limits contracted, and that no good purposes could be answered by remaining there, sailed, with all the armed vessels, out of the harbor. These arrangements and transactions, joined to an unremitting attention to the completion of the defences, gave full scope to the activity of General Putnam, until the arrival of General Washington, which happened about the middle of April.

THE Commander in Chief, in his first public orders, "*complimented the Officers who*" "*had successively commanded at New-York,*" "*and returned his thanks to them as well as*" "*to the Officers and Soldiers under their*" "*command, for the many works of defence*" "*which had been so expeditiously erected:*" "*at the same time he expressed an expectation that the same spirit of zeal for the service, would continue to animate their future conduct.*"—Putnam, who was then the only Major General with the main army, had still a chief agency in forwarding the fortifications; and, with the assistance of the

Brigadiers Spencer and Lord Sterling, in assigning to the different Corps their alarm Posts.

CONGRESS having intimated a desire of consulting with the Commander in Chief on the critical posture of affairs, His Excellency repaired to Philadelphia accordingly, and was absent from the twenty-first of May until the sixth of June. General Putnam, who commanded in that interval, had it in charge to open all letters directed to General Washington *on public service*, and, if important, after regulating his conduct by their contents, to forward them by express; to expedite the works then erecting; to begin others which were specified; to establish signals for communicating an alarm; to guard against the possibility of surprize; to secure well the Powder-Magazine; to augment by every means in his power the quantity of Cartridges; and to send Brigadier General Lord Sterling to put the Posts in the *Highlands* into a proper condition of defence. He had also *a private and confidential instruction* to afford whatever aid might be required by the Provincial Congress of New-York for apprehending certain of their disaffected citizens: and as it would be most convenient to take the detachment for this service from the troops

on Long-Island, under command of Brigadier General Greene, it was recommended that this officer should be advised of the plan, and that the execution should be conducted with secrecy and celerity, as well as with decency and good order. In the records of the army are preserved the daily Orders which were issued in the absence of the Commander in Chief, who, on his return, was not only satisfied that the works had been prosecuted with all possible dispatch, but also that the other duties had been properly discharged.

It was the latter end of June when the British fleet, which had been at Halifax waiting for reinforcements from Europe, began to arrive at New-York. To obstruct its passage some marine preparations had been made. General Putnam, to whom the directions of the whale boats, fire rafts, flat-bottomed boats and armed vessels was committed, afforded his patronage to a project for destroying the enemy's shipping by explosion. A *Machine*, altogether different from any thing hitherto devised by the art of man, had been invented by Mr. David Bushnell*, for *subma-*

* David Bushnell, A. M. of Saybrook in Connecticut, invented several other machines for the annoyance of shipping; these from accidents, not militating against the philosophical principles, on which their success de-

rine navigation, which was found to answer the purpose perfectly of rowing horizontally at any given depth under water, and of rising or sinking at pleasure. To *this Machine* (called the American Turtle) was attached a *Magazine of Powder*, which it was intended

pended, only partially succeeded. He destroyed a vessel in the charge of Commodore Symmonds, whose report to the Admiral was published. One of his kegs also demolished a vessel near the Long-Island shore. About Christmas 1777 he committed to the Delaware a number of Kegs, destined to fall among the British fleet at Philadelphia: but his squadron of Kegs, having been separated and retarded by the ice, demolished but a single boat. This catastrophe, however, produced an alarm; unprecedented in its nature and degree; which has been so happily described in the subsequent Song by the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, that the event it celebrates will not be forgotten so long as mankind shall continue to be delighted with works of humour and taste:

The battle of the Kegs :—a Song.—Tune Moggy
Lawder.

GALLANTS, attend, and hear a friend

Trill forth harmonious ditty:

Strange things I'll tell, which late befell

In Philadelphia city.

'Twas early day, as poets say,
Just when the sun was rising,
A soldier stood on log of wood,
And saw a sight surprising.

As in a maze, he stood to gaze,
The truth can't be denied, Sir;

to be fastened under the bottom of a ship
with a driving screw ; in such sort that the
same stroke which disengaged it from the
Machine should put the internal clock-work

He spied a score of Kegs or more,
Come floating down the tide, Sir.

A sailor, too, in jerkin blue,
The strange appearance viewing,
First damn'd his eyes, in great surprize,
Then said—" Some mischief's brewing."

" These Kegs now hold the rebels bold,
" Pack'd up like pickled herring :
" And they 're come down, t' attack the town,
" In this new way of ferry'ng."

The soldier flew ; the sailor too :
And, scar'd almost to death, Sir,
Wore out their shoes, to spread the news ;
And ran till out of breath, Sir.

Now up and down, throughout the town,
Most frantic scenes were acted :
And some ran here and some ran there,
Like men almost distracted.

Some fire cried, which some denied,
But said the earth had quaked :
And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
Ran through the town half naked.

Sir William || he, snug as a flea,
Lay all this time a snoring ;

|| Sir William Howe.

in motion. This being done, the ordinary operation of a gun-lock (at the distance of half an hour, an hour, or any determinate time) would cause the powder to explode and leave the effects to the common laws of nature. The simplicity, yet combination discovered

Nor dreamt of harm, as he lay warm
In bed with Mrs. L*r*ng.

Now in a fright, he starts upright,
Awak'd by such a clatter :
He rubs both eyes ; and boldly cries,
“ For God’s sake, what’s the matter ? ”

At his bed-side, he then espied
Sir Erskine † at command, Sir,
Upon one foot, he had one boot,
And t’other in his hand, Sir,

“ Arise ! arise ! ” Sir Erskine cries :
“ The rebels—more’s the pity—
“ Without a boat, are all on float,
“ And rang’d before the city.

“ The motly crew, in vessels new,
“ With Satan for their guide, Sir,
“ Pack’d up in bags, or wooden KECS,
“ Come driving down the tide, Sir ;

“ Therefore prepare for bloody war :
“ These KECS must all be routed :
“ Or surely we despoil’d shall be,
“ And British courage doubted.”

† Sir William Erskine.

in the mechanism of this wonderful machine, were acknowledged by those skilled in Physics, and particularly Hydraulics, to be not less ingenious than novel. The Inventor,

The Royal band now ready stand,
All rang'd in dread array, Sir,
With stomach's stout, to see it out,
And make a bloody day, Sir.

The cannons roar from shore to shore :
The small arms make a rattle.
Since wars began, I'm sure no man
E'er saw so strange a battle.

The rebel * vales, the rebel dales,
With rebel trees surrounded,
The distant woods, the hills and floods,
With rebel echoes founded.

The fish below swam to and fro,
Attack'd from ev'ry quarter :
" Why sure," thought they, " the Dev'l's to pay
" Mongst folks above the water."

The KEGS, 'tis said, though strongly made
Of rebel staves and hoops, Sir,
Could not oppose their pow'rful foes,
The conqu'ring British troops, Sir.

From morn to night, those men of might,
Display'd amazing courage ;
And when the Sun was fairly down,
Retir'd to sup their porridge.

* The British officers were so fond of the word, *rebel*, that they often applied it most absurdly.

whose constitution was too feeble to permit him to perform the labour of rowing the Turtle, had taught his brother to manage it with perfect dexterity ; but unfortunately his brother fell sick of a fever just before the arrival of the fleet. Recourse was therefore had to a Serjeant in the Connecticut troops ; who, having received whatever instructions could be communicated to him in a short time, went (too late in the night) with all the apparatus under the bottom of the Eagle a sixty-four gun Ship on board of which the British Admiral Lord Howe commanded. In coming up, the screw, that had been calculated to perforate the copper sheathing, unluckily struck against some iron plates, where the rudder is connected with the stern. This ac-

An hundred men, with each a pen,
Or more, upon my word, Sir,
It is most true, would be too few,
Their valour to record, Sir.

Such feats did they perform that day,
Upon those wicked KEGS, Sir,
That years to come, if they get home,
They'll make their boasts and brags, Sir.

Mr. Bushnell, having been highly recommended for his talents by President Stiles, General Parsons and some other gentlemen of Science, was appointed a Captain in the Corps of Sappers and Miners : in which capacity he continued to serve with that corps, until the conclusion of the war.

cident, added to the strength of tide which prevailed and the want of adequate skill in the Serjeant, occasioned such delay that the dawn began to appear: whereupon he abandoned the Magazine to chance, and (after gaining a proper distance) for the sake of expedition, rowed on the surface towards the town. General Putnam, who had been on the wharf anxiously expecting the result from the first glimmering of light, beheld the Machine near Governor's Island and sent a whale-boat to bring it on shore. In about twenty minutes afterwards the Magazine exploded and blew a vast column of water to an amazing height in the air. As the whole business had been kept an inviolable secret, he was not a little diverted with the various conjectures, whether this stupendous noise was produced by a bomb, a meteor, a water-spout or an earthquake. Other operations of a most serious nature rapidly succeeded and prevented a repetition of the experiment.

On the twenty-second of August the van of the British landed on Long-Island, and was soon followed by the whole army, except one Brigade of Hessians, a small body of British and some convalescents, left on Staten Island. Our troops on Long Island had been commanded during the summer by

General Greene, who was now sick; and General Putnam took the command, but two days before the battle of Flatbush. The Instructions to him (pointing in the first place to decisive expedients for suppressing the scattering, unmeaning and wasteful fire of our men) contained regulations for the service of the guards, the Brigadiers and the Field Officers of the day; for the appointment and encouragement of proper scouts; as well as for keeping the men constantly at their posts; for preventing the burning of buildings (except it should be necessary for military purposes) and for preserving private property from pillage and destruction. To these regulations were added, in a more diffuse though not less spirited and professional style, reflections on the distinction of an army from a mob; with exhortations for the Soldiers to conduct themselves manfully in such a cause, and for their Commander to oppose the enemy's approach with detachments of his best troops: while he should endeavor to render their advance more difficult by constructing abattis, and to entrap their parties by forming ambuscades. General Putnam was within the lines, when an engagement took place on the 27th, between the British army and our advanced Corps, in which we lost about a thousand men in killed and miss-

ing, with the Generals Sullivan and Lord Sterling made prisoners. But our men (though attacked on all sides) fought with great bravery; and the enemy's loss was not light.

THE unfortunate battle of Long Island, the masterly retreat from thence and the actual passage of part of the hostile fleet in the East River above the Town, preluded the evacuation of New-York. A promotion of four Major's General and six Brigadiers had previously been made by Congress. After the retreat from Long Island the main army, consisting for the moment, of sixty Battalions (of which twenty were Continental, the residue Levies and Militia) was, conformably to the exigencies of the service, rather than to the rules of war, formed into fourteen Brigades. Major General Putnam commanded the right grand Division of five Brigades, the Major's General Spencer and Greene the center of six Brigades, and Major General Heath the left which was posted near Kingsbridge and composed of two Brigades. The whole never amounted to twenty thousand effective men; while the British and German forces under Sir William Howe exceeded twenty-two thousand: indeed the Minister had asserted in Parliament that they would consist

of more than thirty thousand. Our two center Divisions, both commanded by General Spencer in the sickness of General Greene, moved towards Mount Washington, Harlem Heights and Horn's Hook, as soon as the final resolution was taken, in a Council of War, on the twelfth of September, to abandon the city. That event, thus circumstanced, took effect a few days after.

ON Sunday the fifteenth the British, after sending three ships of war up the North River to Bloomingdale and keeping up, for some hours, a severe cannonade on our lines, from those already in the East River, landed in force at Turtle Bay—our new Levies commanded by a state Brigadier General, fled without making resistance. Two Brigades of General Putnam's Division, ordered to their support, notwithstanding the exertion of their Brigadiers, and of the Commander in Chief himself, who came up at the instant, conducted themselves in the same shameful manner. His Excellency then ordered the Heights of Harlem, a strong position, to be occupied. Thither the forces in the vicinity, as well as the fugitives, repaired. In the mean time General Putnam, with the remainder of his command and the ordinary outposts, was in the city. After having caused

the Brigades to begin their retreat by the route of Bloomingdale, in order to avoid the enemy, who were then in the possession of the main road leading to Kingsbridge, he galloped to call off the pickets and guards. Having myself been a Volunteer in his Division and acting Adjutant to the last Regiment that left the city, I had frequent opportunities that day of beholding him, for the purpose of issuing orders and encouraging the troops, flying, on his horse covered with foam, wherever his presence was most necessary. Without his extraordinary exertions the guards must have been inevitably lost, and it is probable entire Corps would have been cut in pieces. When we were not far from Bloomingdale, an Aid de Camp came from him at full speed to inform, that a column of British Infantry was descending upon our right. Our rear was soon fired upon, and the Colonel of our regiment (whose order was just communicated for the front to file off to the left) was killed on the spot. With no other loss, we joined the army, after dark, on the Heights of Harlem.

BEFORE our Brigades came in, we were given up for lost by all our friends. So critical indeed was our situation and so narrow the gap by which we escaped, that the instant

we had passed, the enemy closed it by extending their line from river to river. Our men, who had been fifteen hours under arms, harassed by marching and countermarching in consequence of incessant alarms, exhausted as they were by heat and thirst (for the day proved insupportably hot and few or none had canteens, insomuch that some died at the brooks where they drank) if attacked, could have made but feeble resistance.

If we take into consideration the debilitating sickness which weakened almost all our troops, the hard duty by which they were worn down in constructing numberless defences, the continual want of rest they had suffered (since the enemy landed) in guarding from nocturnal surprise, the despondency infused into their minds by an insular situation and a consciousness of inferiority to the enemy in discipline, together with the disadvantageous terms upon which, in their state of separation, they might have been forced to engage; it appears highly probable that day would have presented an easy victory to the British. On the other side, the American Commander in Chief had wisely countenanced an opinion, then universally credited, that our army was three times more numerous than it was in reality. It is not a subject for astonishment, that the British,

ignorant of the existing circumstances, imposed upon as to the numbers by reports and recollecting what a few brave men, slightly entrenched, had performed at Bunker Hill, should proceed with great circumspection. For their reproaches, that the Rebels (as they affected to style us) loved digging better than fighting, and that they earthed themselves in holes like foxes, but ill concealed at the bottom of their own hearts the profound impression that action had made. Cheap and contemptible as we had once seemed in their eyes, it had taught them to hold us in some respect. This respect, in conjunction with a fixed belief that the enthusiastic spirit of our opposition must soon subside, and that the inexhaustible resources of Britain would ultimately triumph without leaving any thing to chance (not the avarice or treachery of the British General, as the factions of his own nation wished to insinuate) retarded their operation and afforded us leisure to rescue from annihilation the miserable relics of an army, hastening to dissolution by the expiration of enlistments, and the country itself from irretrievable subjugation. IN TRUTH WE ARE NOT LESS INDEBTED TO THE MATTOCK AT ONE PERIOD, THAN TO THE MUSQUET AT ANOTHER, FOR OUR POLITICAL SALVATION. It required great talents to determine when

one or the other was most profitably to be employed. I am aware how fashionable it has become to compare the American Commander in Chief, for the prudence displayed in those dilatory and defensive operations, so happily prosecuted in the early stages of the war, to the illustrious Roman, who acquired immortality in restoring the Commonwealth, *by delay*. Advantageous and flattering as the comparison at first appears, it will be found on examination to stint the American to the smaller moiety of his merited fame. Did HE not in scenes of almost unparalleled activity discover specimens of transcendent abilities, and might it not be proved to professional men, that boldness in council, and rapidity in execution were, at least, equally with prudent procrastination, and the quality of not being compelled to action, attributes of his military genius? *This*, however, was an occasion, apparent as pressing, for attaining his object *by delay*. From that he had every thing to gain, nothing to lose. Yet there were not wanting *Politicians*, AT THIS VERY TIME, who querulously blamed these *Fabian* measures and loudly clamoured, that the immense labour and expence bestowed on the fortification of New-York had been thrown away; that, if we could not face the enemy *there* after so many

preparations, we might as well relinquish the contest at once, for we could no where make a stand ; and that, if General Washington, with an army of sixty thousand men, strongly entrenched, declined fighting with Sir William Howe, who had little more than one third of that number, it was not to be expected he would find any other occasion that might induce him to engage.—But General Washington, content to suffer a temporary sacrifice of personal reputation for the sake of securing a permanent advantage to his country, and regardless of those idle clamours for which he had furnished materials by making his countrymen, in order the more effectually to make his enemy, believe his force much greater than it actually was ; inflexibly pursued his system and gloriously demonstrated how poor and pitiful in the estimation of A GREAT MIND are the censorious strictures of those Novices in war and politics, who, with equal rashness and impudence, presume to decide dogmatically on the merit of plans they could neither originate or comprehend !—

THAT night our soldiers excessively fatigued by the sultry march of the day, their cloaths wet by a severe shower of rain that succeeded towards the evening, their blood chilled by the cold wind that produced a sudden change

in the temperature of the air, and their hearts sunk within them by the loss of baggage, artillery, and works in which they had been taught to put great confidence, lay upon their arms, covered only by the clouds of an uncomfortable sky. To retrieve our disordered affairs and prevent the enemy from profiting by them, no exertion was relaxed, no vigilance remitted on the part of our higher officers. The Regiments which had been least exposed to fatigue that day, furnished the necessary piquets to secure the army from surprize. Those, whose military lives had been short and unpracticed, felt enough besides lassitude of body to disquiet the tranquillity of their repose. Nor had those, who were older in service and of more experience, any subject for consolation. The warmth of enthusiasm seemed to be extinguished. The force of discipline had not sufficiently occupied its place to give men a dependence upon each other. We were apparently about to reap the bitter fruits of that jealous policy, which some leading men (with the best motives) had sown in our federal councils, when they caused the mode to be adopted, for carrying on the war by detachments of militia; from apprehension that an established Continental army, after defending the country against foreign invasion, might subvert its

liberties themselves. Paradoxical as it will appear, it may be profitable to be known to posterity, that, while our very existence as an independent people was in question, the patriotic jealousy for the safety of our future *freedom* had been carried to such a virtuous, but dangerous excess, as well nigh to preclude the attainment of our Independence. Happily that limited and hazardous system soon gave room to one more enlightened and salutary. This may be attributed to the reiterated arguments, the open remonstrances and the confidential communications of the Commander in Chief: who, though not apt to despair of the Republic, on this occasion, expressed himself in terms of unusual despondency. He declared in his letters that he found, to his utter astonishment and mortification, that no reliance could be placed on a great proportion of his present troops, and that, unless efficient measures for establishing a permanent force should be speedily pursued, we had every reason to fear the final ruin of our cause.

NEXT morning several parties of the enemy appeared upon the plains in our front. On receiving this intelligence, General Washington rode quickly to the out posts, for the purpose of preparing against an attack, if the

enemy should advance with that design. Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton's Rangers (a fine selection from the eastern Regiments), who had been skirmishing with an advanced party; came in and informed the General that a body of British were under cover of a small eminence at no considerable distance. His Excellency, willing to raise our men from their dejection by the splendor of some little success, ordered Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton with his Rangers, and Major Leitch with three Companies of Weedon's Regiment of Virginians to gain their rear; while appearances should be made of an attack in front. As soon as the enemy saw the party sent to decoy them, they ran precipitately down the hill, took possession of some fences and bushes, and commenced a brisk firing at long shot. Unfortunately Knowlton and Leitch made their onset rather in flank than in rear. The enemy changed their front and the skirmish, at once became close and warm. Major *Leitch having received three balls through his side was soon borne from the field, and Colonel Knowlton (who had distinguished himself so gallantly at the battle of Bunker-Hill) was mortally wounded immediately af-

* Major Leitch, after languishing some days, died of a locked jaw.

ter. Their men, however, undaunted by these disasters, stimulated with the thirst of revenge for the loss of their leaders, and conscious of acting under the eye of the Commander in Chief, maintained the conflict with uncommon spirit and perseverance. But the General, seeing them in need of support, advanced part of the Maryland Regiments of Griffith and Richardson, together with some detachments from such eastern Corps, as chanced to be most contiguous to the place of action. Our troops this day, without exception, behaved with the greatest intrepidity. So bravely did they repulse the British, that Sir William Howe moved his *Reserve* with two field pieces, a battalion of Hessian Grenadiers and a company of Chasseurs to succour his retreating troops. General Washington, not willing to draw on a general action, declined pressing the pursuit. In this engagement were the second and third Battalions of Light Infantry, the forty-second British Regiment and the German Chasseurs, of whom eight officers and upward of seventy privates were wounded, and our people buried nearly twenty who were left dead on the field. We had about forty wounded: our loss in killed, except of two valuable Officers, was very inconsiderable.

AN * advantage, so trivial in itself, produced, in event, a surprising and almost incredible effect upon the whole army. Among the troops not engaged, who during the action were throwing earth from the new trenches, with an alacrity that indicated a determination to defend them, every visage was seen to brighten, and to assume, instead of the gloom of despair, the glow of animation.

* A transcript from General Washington's Public Orders of the seventeenth, will, better than any other document that could be adduced, shew his sentiment on the conduct of the two preceding days and how fervently he wished to foster the good dispositions discovered on the last.

“ O R D E R S.

“ Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, Sept. 17, 1776.
“ Parole Leitch. Counter sign Virginia.

“ The General most heartily thanks the troops commanded yesterday by Major Leitch, who first advanced upon the enemy, and the others who so resolutely supported them. The behaviour yesterday was such a contrast to that of some of the troops the day before, as must shew what may be done where Officers and Soldiers will exert themselves. Once more, therefore, the General calls upon Officers and Men, to act up to the noble cause in which they are engaged, and to support the *honor* and *liberties* of their Country.”

“ The gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honor to any Country, having fallen yesterday while gloriously fighting; Captain Brown is to take the Command of the party lately led by Colonel Knowlton. Officers and men are to obey him accordingly.”

This change, no less sudden than happy, left little room to doubt that the men, who ran the day before at the sight of an enemy, would now (to wipe away the stain of that disgrace and to recover the confidence of their General) have conducted themselves in a very different manner. Some alteration was made in the distribution of Corps to prevent the British from gaining either flank in the succeeding night. General Putnam, who commanded on the right, was directed in orders, in case the enemy should attempt to force the pass, to apply for a reinforcement to General Spencer, who commanded on the left.

GENERAL PUTNAM, who was too good a husbandman himself not to have a respect for the labors and improvements of others, strenuously seconded the views of the Commander in Chief in preventing the devastation of Farms and the violation of private property. For under pretext that the property in this quarter belonged to friends to the British government (as indeed it mostly did) a spirit of rapine and licentiousness began to prevail, which, unless repressed in the beginning, foreboded, besides the subversion of discipline, the disgrace and defeat of our arms.

OUR new defences now becoming so strong

as not to admit insult with impunity, and Sir William Howe, not choosing to place too much at risque in attacking us in front, on the 12th day of October, leaving Lord Piercy with one Hessian and two British Brigades in his lines at Harlem to cover New-York, embarked with the main body of his army with an intention of landing at *Frog's Neck*, situated near the town of West Chester and little more than a league above the communication called King's bridge, which connects New-York Island with the main. There was nothing to oppose him; and he effected his debarkation by nine o'clock in the morning. The same policy of keeping our army as compact as possible; the same system of avoiding being forced to action; and the same precaution to prevent the interruption of supplies, reinforcements or retreat, that lately dictated the evacuation of New-York, now induced General Washington to move towards the strong grounds in the upper part of West Chester County.

ABOUT the same time, General Putnam was sent to the western side of the Hudson to provide against an irruption into the Jerseys, and soon after to Philadelphia to put that town into a posture of defence. Thither I attend him, without stopping to dilate on the

subsequent incidents that might swell a folio, though here compressed to a single paragraph: without attempting to give in detail the skillful retrograde movements of our Commander in Chief, who, after detaching a Garrison for Fort Washington, by preoccupying with extemporaneous redoubts and entrenchments the ridges from *Mile-Square* to *White Plains*, and by folding one Brigade behind another in rear of those ridges that run parallel with the *Sound*, brought off all his Artillery, Stores and Sick, in the face of a superior foe: without commenting on the partial and equivocal battle fought near the last mentioned village, or the cause why the British, then in full force (for the last of the Hessian Infantry and British Light-Horse had just arrived) did not more seriously endeavor to induce a general engagement: without journalizing their military manœuvres in falling back to Kingbridge, capturing Fort Washington, Fort Lee, and marching through the Jerseys: without enumerating the instances of rapine, murder, lust and devastation, that marked their progress, and filled our bosoms with horror and indignation: without describing how a division of our dissolving army, with General Washington, was driven before them beyond the Delaware: without painting the naked and forlorn condition of these much enduring men, amidst the rigors of an inclement season:

and without even sketching the consternation that seized the States, at this perilous period, when General Lee (in leading from the North a small reinforcement to our troops) was himself taken prisoner by surprize; when every thing seemed decidedly declining to the last extremity, and when every prospect but served to augment the depression of despair—until the genius of one man, in one day, at a single stroke, wrested from the veteran Battalions of Britain and Germany the fruits acquired by the total operations of a successful campaign, and reanimated the expiring hope of a whole nation, by the glorious enterprize at Trenton.

While the hostile forces, rashly inflated with pride by a series of uninterrupted successes, and fondly dreaming that a period would soon be put to their labors by the completion of their conquests, had been pursuing the wretched remnants of a disbanded army to the banks of the Delaware: General Putnam was diligently employed in fortifying Philadelphia, the capture of which appeared indubitably to be their principal object. Here, by authority and example, he strove to conciliate contending factions, and to excite the citizens to uncommon efforts in defence of every thing interesting to Freemen. His

personal industry was unparalleled. His Orders with respect to extinguishing accidental fires, advancing the public works, as well as in regard to other important objects were perfectly military and proper. But his health was, for a while, impaired by his unrelaxed exertions.

THE Commander in Chief, having in spite of all obstacles made good his retreat over the Delaware, wrote to General Putnam (from his Camp above the Falls of Trenton, on the very day he recrossed the river to surprise the

* As a specimen the following is preserved :

“ GENERAL ORDERS.

“ Head Quarters, Philadelphia, Dec. 14, 1776.

“ Colonel Griffin is appointed Adjutant General to the troops in and about this city. All Orders from the General, through him, either written or verbal, are to be strictly attended to and punctually obeyed.

“ In case of an alarm of fire, the city guards and patrols are to suffer the inhabitants to pass unmolested at any hour of the night ; and the good people of Philadelphia are earnestly requested and desired to give every assistance in their power, with engines and buckets, to extinguish the fire. And, as the Congress have ordered the City to be defended to the last extremity, the General hopes that no person will refuse to give every assistance possible to complete the Fortifications that are to be erected in and about the City.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.”

Hessians) expressing his satisfaction at the re-establishment of that General's health, and informing that, if he had not himself been well convinced before of the enemy's intention to possess themselves of Philadelphia, as soon as the frost should form ice strong enough to transport them and their artillery across the Delaware, he had now obtained an intercepted letter which placed the matter beyond a doubt. He added that, if the citizens of Philadelphia had any regard for the town, not a moment's time was to be lost until it should be put in the best possible posture of defence: but, least that should not be done, he directed the removal of all public Stores, except provisions necessary for immediate use, to places of greater security. He queried whether, if a party of Militia could be sent from Philadelphia to support those in the Jerseys about Mount Holly, it would not serve to save them from submission? At the same time, he signified (as his opinion) the expediency of sending an active and influential Officer to inspire the people, to encourage them to assemble in arms, as well as to keep those already in arms from disbanding; and concluded by manifesting a wish that Colonel Forman, whom he desired to see for this purpose, might be employed on the service.

THE enemy had vainly as incautiously imagined that to overrun was to conquer. They had even carried their presumption on our extreme weakness and expected submission, so far as to attempt covering the country, through which they had marched, with an extensive chain of Cantonments. That link, which the post at Trenton supplied, consisted of a Hessian Brigade of Infantry, a Company of Chasseurs, a Squadron of Light Dragoons and six Field Pieces. At eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-sixth of December, General Washington, with twenty-four hundred men, came upon them (after they had paraded) took one thousand prisoners, and repassed the same day without loss to his encampment. As soon as the troops were recovered from their excessive fatigue, General Washington recrossed a second time to Trenton. On the second of January, Lord Cornwallis with the bulk of the British army advanced upon him, cannonaded his post, and offered him battle: but, the two armies being separated by the interposition of Trenton Creek, General Washington had it in his option to decline an engagement; which he did for the sake of striking the masterly stroke that he then meditated. Having kindled frequent fires around his camp, posted faithful men to keep them burning, and advanced

centinels whose fidelity might be relied upon, he decamped silently after dark, and, by a circuitous route, reached Princeton at 9 o'clock the next morning. The noise of the firing, by which he killed and captured between five and six hundred of the British Brigade in that town, was the first notice Lord Cornwallis had of this stolen march. General Washington, the project successfully accomplished, instantly filed off for the mountainous grounds of Morris Town. Meanwhile His Lordship, who arrived by a forced march at Princeton, just as he had left it, finding the Americans could not be overtaken, proceeded without halting to Brunswick.

ON the fifth of January 1777, from Pluckemin, General Washington dispatched an account of this second success to General Putnam and ordered him to move immediately with all his troops to Crosswix, for the purpose of co-operating in recovering the Jerseys: an event which the present fortunate juncture (while the enemy were yet panic-struck) appeared to promise. The General cautioned him, however, if the enemy should still continue at Brunswick, to guard with great circumspection against a surprise: especially, as they, having recently suffered by two attacks, could scarcely avoid being edged with

resentment to attempt retaliation. His Excellency farther advised him to give out his strength to be twice as great as it was ; to forward on all the baggage and scattering men belonging to the Division destined for Morris Town ; to employ as many spies as he should think proper ; to keep a number of horsemen, in the dress of the country, going constantly backwards and forwards on the same secret service ; and lastly, if he should discover any intention or motion of the enemy that could be depended upon and might be of consequence, not to fail in conveying the intelligence as rapidly as possible by express to Head Quarters. Major General Putnam was directed soon after to take post at Princeton ; where he continued until the spring. He had never with him more than a few hundred troops, though he was only at fifteen miles distance from the enemy's strong garrison of Brunswick. At one period from a sudden diminution, occasioned by the tardiness of the militia, turning out to replace those whose time of service was expired, he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of frontier to guard. Nor was the Commander in Chief in a more eligible situation. It is true, that, while he had scarcely the semblance of an army, under the specious parade of a park of artillery and the imposing appearance of

his Head Quarters, established at Morris Town, he kept up in the eyes of his countrymen as well as in the opinion of his enemy, the appearance of no contemptible force. Future generations will find difficulty in conceiving how a handful of new-levied Men and Militia, who were necessitated to be inoculated for the Small-Pox in the course of the winter, could be subdivided and posted so advantageously, as, effectually to protect the inhabitants, confine the enemy, curtail their forage, and beat up their quarters, without sustaining a single disaster.

IN the battle of Princeton Capt. McPherson, of the 17th British Regiment, a very worthy Scotchman, was desperately wounded in the lungs and left with the dead. Upon General Putnam's arrival there, he found him languishing in extreme distress, without a surgeon, without a single accommodation, and without a friend to solace the sinking spirit in the gloomy hour of death. He visited and immediately caused every possible comfort to be administered to him. Captain McPherson, who contrary to all appearances recovered, after having demonstrated to General Putnam the dignified sense of obligations which a generous mind wishes not to conceal, one day in familiar conversation demanded—"pray, Sir,

“ what countryman are you ? ” — “ An American,” answered the latter. — “ Not a Yankee ? ” — said the other. “ A full-blooded one,” replied the General. “ By G—d, I am sorry for that,” rejoined McPherson, “ I did not think there could be so much goodness and generosity in an American, or, indeed in any body but a Scotchman.”

WHILE the recovery of Captain McPherson was doubtful, he desired that General Putnam would permit a friend in the British army at Brunswick to come and assist him in making his WILL. General Putnam, who had then only fifty men in his whole command, was sadly embarrassed by the proposition. On the one hand, he was not content that a British Officer should have an opportunity to spy out the weakness of his post—on the other, it was scarcely in his nature to refuse complying with a dictate of humanity. He luckily bethought himself of an expedient, which he hastened to put in practice. A Flag of Truce was dispatched with Captain McPherson’s request, but under an injunction not to return with his friend until after dark. In the evening lights were placed in all the rooms of the College, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. During the whole night, the fifty

men, sometimes all together and sometimes in small detachments, were marched from different quarters by the house in which McPherson lay. Afterwards it was known, that the Officer who came on the visit at his return reported, that General Putnam's Army upon the most moderate calculation could not consist of less than four or five thousand men.

THIS winter's campaign (for our troops constantly kept the field after regaining a footing in the Jerseys) has never yet been faithfully and feelingly described. The sudden restoration of our cause from the very verge of ruin, was interwoven with such a tissue of inscrutable causes and extraordinary events, that, fearful of doing the subject greater injustice by a passing disquisition than a purposed silence, I leave it to the leisure of abler pens. The ill policy of the British doubtless contributed to accelerate this event. For the manner, impolitic as inhuman, in which they managed their temporary conquests tended evidently to alienate the affections of their adherents, to confirm the wavering in an opposite interest, to rouse the supine into activity, to assemble the dispersed to the Standard of America, and to infuse a spirit of revolt into the minds of those men, who had from necessity submitted to their

power. Their conduct in warring with fire and sword against the imbecility of youth and the decrepitude of age ; against the Arts, the Sciences, the curious Inventions and the elegant improvements in civilized life ; against the melancholy Widow, the miserable Orphan, the peaceable professor of humane Literature, and the sacred Minister of the Gospel, seemed to operate as powerfully, as if purposely intended to kindle the dormant spark of resistance into an inextinguishable flame. If we add, to the black catalogue of provocations already enumerated, their insatiable rapacity in plundering friends and foes indiscriminately ; their libidinous brutality in violating the chastity of the female sex, their more than Gothic rage in defacing private Writings, public Records, Libraries of learning, Dwellings of individuals, Edifices for education and Temples of the Deity ; together with their insufferable ferocity (unprecedented indeed among civilized nations) in murdering on the field of battle the wounded while begging for mercy, in causing their prisoners to famish with hunger and cold in Prisons and Prison-Ships, and in carrying their malice beyond death itself by denying the decent rites of sepulture to the dead,—we shall not be astonished that the Yeomanry in the two Jerseys, when the first glimmering of

hope began to break in upon them, rose as one man, with the unalterable resolution to perish in the generous cause or expel their merciless invaders.

THE principal Officers, stationed at a variety of well-chosen and at some almost inaccessible positions, seemed all to be actuated by the same soul and only to vie with each other in giving proofs of vigilance, enterprize and valour. From what has been said respecting the scantiness of our aggregate force, it will be concluded that the number of men, under the orders of each, was indeed very small. But the uncommon alertness of the troops who were incessantly hovering round the enemy in scouts, and the constant communication, they kept between the several stations most contiguous to each other (agreeably to the † Instructions of the General in

† The annexed private Orders to Lord Stirling will shew, in a laconic and military manner, the system of service then pursued.

“ To Brigadier General Lord STIRLING.

“ MY LORD,

“ You are to repair to Baskenridge and take upon you the command of the troops now there, and such as may be sent to your care.

“ You are to endeavour, as much as possible, to harass and annoy the enemy by keeping scouting parties constantly (or as frequently as possible) around their quarters.

Chief) together with their readiness in giving and confidence of receiving such reciprocal aid as the exigencies might require, served to supply the defect of force.

THIS manner of doing duty not only put our own posts beyond the reach of sudden insult, and surprize; but so exceedingly harassed and intimidated the enemy that foragers were seldom sent out by them, and never except in very large parties. General Dickenson, who commanded on General Putnam's left, discovered about the 20th of January, a foraging party consisting of about four hundred men, on the opposite side of the *Mill-Stone*,

“ As you will be in the neighbourhood of Generals Dickenson and Warner, I recommend it to you, to keep up a correspondence with them, and endeavour to regulate your parties by theirs so as to have some constantly out.

“ Use every means in your power to obtain intelligence from the enemy; which may possibly be better effected by engaging some of those people who have obtained *Protections* to go in, under pretence of asking advice, than by any other means.

“ You will also use every means in your power to obtain and communicate the earliest accounts of the enemy's movements; and to assemble, in the speediest manner possible, your troops either for offence or defence.

GIVEN at Head Quarters
the fourth day of February 1777.
GEO. WASHINGTON.”

two miles from Somerset court-house. As the bridge was possessed and defended by three field pieces so that it could not be passed; General Dickenson, at the head of four hundred militia, broke the ice, crossed the river (where the water was about three feet deep) resolutely attacked and totally defeated the foragers. Upon their abandoning the convoy, a few prisoners, forty waggons, and more than a hundred draft horses with a considerable booty of cattle and sheep fell into his hands.

NOR were our operations on General Putnam's right flank less fortunate. To give countenance to the numerous friends of the British Government in the county of Monmouth, appears to have been a principal motive with Sir William Howe for stretching the chain of his cantonments (by his own * confession previously to his disaster) rather

* Extract of a letter from General Sir William Howe, to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, December 20, 1776.

Having mentioned the fruitless attempt of Lord Cornwallis to find boats at Corryel's ferry to pass the Delaware—he proceeds thus :

“ The passage of the Delaware being thus rendered impracticable, his Lordship took post at Pennington, in which place and Trenton the two divisions remained until the fourteenth, when the weather having become too severe to keep the field, and the winter cantonments be-

too far. After that chain became broken, as I have already related, by the blows at Trenton and Princeton, he was obliged to collect during the rest of the winter the useless remains in his barracks at Brunswick. In the meantime General Putman was much more successful in his attempt to protect our dispersed and dispirited friends in the same district; who, environed on every side by envenomed adversaries remained inseparably rivetted in affection to American Independence. He first detached Colonel Guerny and afterwards Major * Davis, with such parties of

ing arranged, the troops marched from both places to their respective stations. *The chain, I own, is rather too extensive*, but I was induced to occupy Burlington to cover the County of Monmouth, in which there are many loyal inhabitants; and trusting to the almost general submission of the Country to the southward of this chain, and to the strength of the Corps placed in the advanced posts, I conclude the troops will be in perfect security."

* As there happened to be in my possession a copy of one of his letters to those Officers, it was thought worthy of insertion here, in order to demonstrate his satisfaction with their conduct:

" To Major John Davis, of the third Battalion of Cumberland County Militia.

" S I R,

" I am much obliged to you for your activity, vigor and diligence since you have been under my command: you will, therefore, march your men to Philadelphia and there discharge them; returning into the store all the

militia as could be spared, for their support. Several skirmishes ensued in which our people had always the advantage. They took, at different times, many prisoners, horses and waggons from foraging parties. In effect so well did they cover the country as to induce some of the most respectable inhabitants to declare, that the security of the persons, as well as the salvation of the property of many friends to freedom, was owing to the spirited exertions of these two detachments: who at the same time that they rescued the county from the tyranny of Tories, afforded an opportunity for the militia to recover from their consternation, to embody themselves in warlike array and to stand on their defence.

DURING this period General Putnam having received unquestionable intelligence, that a party of Refugees in British pay had taken post and were erecting a kind of Redoubt at Lawrence's Neck, sent Colonel Nelson with one hundred and fifty militia to surprize them. That officer conducted with so much secrecy and decision as to take the whole prisoners.

ammunition, arms and accoutrements, you received at that place.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

Princeton February 5th, 1777.

These * Refugees commanded by Major Stockton, belonging to Skinner's Brigade and amounted to sixty in number.

A SHORT time after this event, Lord Cornwallis sent out another foraging party towards Bound-Brook. General Putnam, having received notice from his emissaries, detached Major Smith with a few Riflemen to annoy the party and followed himself with the rest of his force. Before he could come up, Major Smith, who had formed an ambush, attacked the enemy, killed several horses, took a few prisoners and sixteen baggage-waggon, without sustaining any injury. By such operations, our hero, in the course of the winter, captured nearly a thousand prisoners.

In the latter part of February General Washington advised General Putnam, that, in

* Extract of a Letter from General Putnam to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, dated at Princeton February 18th, 1777.

“ Yesterday evening Colonel Nelson, with a hundred
 “ and fifty men, at Laurence's Neck, attacked sixty
 “ men of Cortland Skinner's Brigade, commanded by
 “ the enemy's RENOWNED LAND PILOT *Major Richard Stockton*, routed them and took the whole prison-
 “ ers—among them the Major, a Captain and three Subalterns, with seventy stand of Arms. *Fifty of the Bedford Pennsylvania Riflemen behaved like veterans.*”

consequence of a large accession of strength from New-York to the British army at Brunswick, it was to be apprehended they would soon make a forward movement towards the Delaware: in which case the latter was directed to cross the river with his actual force, to assume the command of the Militia who might assemble, to secure the boats on the west side of the Delaware and to facilitate the passage of the rest of the army. But the enemy did not remove from their winter-quarters until the season arrived when green forage could be supplied. In the intermediate period, the correspondence on the part of General Putnam with the Commander in Chief consisted principally of reports and enquiries concerning the treatment of some of the following descriptions of persons: either of those who came within our lines with flags and pretended flags, or who had taken protection from the enemy, or who had been reputed disaffected to our cause, or who were designed to be comprehended in the American Proclamation, which required that those who had taken protections should give them to the nearest American Officer, or go within the British lines. The letters of his Excellency in return, generally advisory, were indicative of confidence and approbation.

WHEN the Spring had now so far advanced that it was obvious the enemy would soon take the field ; the Commander in Chief, after desiring General Putnam to give the officer who was to relieve him at Princeton all the information necessary for the conduct of that post, appointed that General to the command of a separate Army in the Highlands of New-York.

It is scarcely decided, from any documents yet published, whether the preposterous plans prosecuted by the British Generals in the Campaign of 1777, were altogether the result of their Orders from home, or whether they partially originated from the contingences of the moment. The system, which, at the time, tended to puzzle all human conjecture, when developed served, also, to contradict all reasonable calculation. Certain it is the American Commander in Chief was for a considerable time so perplexed with contradictory appearances, that he knew not how to distribute his troops, with his usual discernment, so as to oppose the enemy with equal prospect of success in different parts. The gathering tempests menaced the northern Frontiers, the posts in the Highlands and the City of Philadelphia : but it was still doubtful where the fury of the storm would fall.

At one time Sir William Howe was forcing his way by land to Philadelphia, at another relinquishing the Jerseys, at a third facing round to make a sudden inroad, then embarking with all the forces that could be spared from New-York, and then putting out to sea—at the very moment when General Burgoyne had reduced Ticonderoga, and seemed to require a co-operation in another quarter.

ON our side, we have seen that the old Continental Army expired with the year 1776: since which, invention had been tortured with expedients and zeal with efforts to levy another. For on the success of the recruiting service depended the salvation of the country. The success was such as not to puff us up to presumption, or depress us to despair. The army in the Jerseys, under the orders of the General in Chief, consisted of all the troops raised south of the Hudson: that in the northern department, of the New-Hampshire Brigade, two Brigades of Massachusetts and the Brigade of New-York, together with some irregular Corps: and that in the Highlands of the remaining two Brigades of Massachusetts, the Connecticut Line consisting two Brigades, the Brigade of Rhode-Island and one Regiment of New-

York. Upon hearing of the loss of Ticonderoga and the progress of the British towards Albany, General Washington ordered the northern army to be reinforced with the two Brigades of Massachusetts then in the Highlands—and, upon finding the army under his immediate command outnumbered by that of Sir William Howe, which had by the circuitous route of the Chesapeake invaded Pennsylvania, he also called from the Highlands one of the Connecticut Brigades and that of Rhode-Island to his own assistance.

IN the neighborhood of General Putnam there was no enemy capable of exciting alarms. The army left at New-York seemed only designed for its defence. In it were several entire Corps, composed of Tories who had flocked to the British standard. There was, besides, a band of lurking miscreants, not properly enrolled, who staid chiefly at West Chester: from whence they infested the Country between the two armies, pillaged the cattle and carried off the peaceable inhabitants. It was an unworthy policy in British Generals to patronize Banditti. The Whig inhabitants on the edge of our lines and still lower down, who had been plundered in a merciless manner, delayed not to strip the Tories in return. People, most nearly connected

and allied, frequently became most exasperated and inveterate in malice. Then the ties of fellowship were broken—then, friendship itself being soured to enmity, the mind readily gave way to private revenge, uncontrouled retaliation and all the deforming passions that disgrace humanity. Enormities, almost without a name, were perpetrated—at the description of which, the bosom, not frozen to apathy, must glow with a mixture of pity and indignation. To prevent the predatory incursions from below and to cover the County of West Chester, General Putnam detached from his Head-Quarters, at Pecks-Kill, Meigs's Regiment, which in the course of the Campaign struck several partizan strokes and atchieved the objects for which it was sent. He likewise took measures, without noise or ostentation, to secure himself from being surprised and carried within the British lines by the Tories, who had formed a plan for the purpose. The information of this intended enterprize, conveyed to him through several channels, was corroborated by that obtained and transmitted by the Commander in Chief.

It was not wonderful that many of these Tories were able, undiscovered, to penetrate far into the country and even to go with letters or messages from one British Army to an-

other. The inhabitants, who were well affected to the royal cause, afforded them every possible support and their own knowledge of the different routes gave them a farther facility in performing their peregrinations. Sometimes the most active Loyalists (as the Tories wished to denominate themselves) who had gone into the British Posts and received promises of Commissions upon enlisting a certain number of Soldiers, came back again secretly with Recruiting Instructions. Sometimes these and others who came from the enemy within the verge of our Camps, were detected and condemned to death in conformity to the usages of war. But the British Generals, who had an unlimited supply of money at their command, were able to pay with so much liberality, that emissaries could always be found. Still, it is thought that the intelligence of the American Commanders, was, at least, equally accurate; notwithstanding the poverty of their military chest and the inability of rewarding mercenary agents, for secret services, in proportion to their risque and merit.

A PERSON by the name of Palmer, who was a Lieutenant in the Tory new Levies, was detected in the Camp at Peek's Kill. Governor Tryon, who commanded the new Levies, reclaimed him as a British Officer, re-

presented the heinous crime of condemning a man commissioned by his Majesty and threatened vengeance in case he should be executed. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply.

“ S I R,

“ NATHAN PALMER, a Lieutenant in
 “ your King’s service, was taken in my
 “ Camp as a *Spy*—he was tried as a *Spy*—he
 “ was condemned as a *Spy*—and you may
 “ rest assured, Sir, he shall be hanged as a
 “ *Spy*.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.”

“ *His Excellency, Governor Tryon.*”

“ P. S. Afternoon.

“ He is hanged.”

IMPORTANT transactions soon occurred. Not long after the two Brigades had marched from Peek’s Kill to Pennsylvania, a reinforcement arrived at New-York from Europe. Appearances indicated that offensive operations would follow. General Putnam, having been reduced in force to a single Brigade in the field and a single Regiment in garrison

at Fort Montgomery, repeatedly informed the Commander in Chief that the posts committed to his charge must in all probability be lost, in case an attempt should be made upon them ; and that, circumstanced as he was, he could not be responsible for the consequences. His situation was certainly to be lamented, but it was not in the power of the Commander in Chief to alter it : except by authorising him to call upon the Militia for aid—an aid always precarious ; and often so tardy, as when obtained to be of no utility.

ON the fifth of October, Sir Henry Clinton came up the North River with three thousand men. After making many feints to mislead the attention, he landed, the next morning, at Stoney Point and commenced his march over the mountains to Fort Montgomery. Governor Clinton, an active, resolute and intelligent officer, who commanded the Garrison, upon being apprised of the movement, dispatched a letter by express to General Putnam for succour. By the treachery of the messenger the letter miscarried. General Putnam, astonished at hearing nothing respecting the enemy, rode, with General Parsons and Colonel Root his Adjutant General, to reconnoitre them at Kings Ferry. In the mean time, at five o'clock in the after-

noon, Sir Henry Clinton's columns, having surmounted the obstacles and barriers of nature, descended from the Thunder-Hill, through thickets impassable but for light troops and * attacked the different redoubts.

* The Author of these Memoirs, then Major of Brigade to the first Connecticut Brigade, was alone at Head-Quarters when the firing began. He hastened to Colonel Wylls, the senior officer in camp and advised him to dispatch all the men not on duty to Fort Montgomery, without waiting for orders. About five hundred men marched instantly under Colonel Meigs; and the author, with Doctor Beardsley, a Surgeon in the Brigade, rode at full speed through a bye-path, to let the garrison know, that a reinforcement was on its march. Notwithstanding all the haste these officers made to and over the river, the Fort was so completely invested, on their arrival, that it was impossible to enter. They went on board the new Frigate, which lay near the fortress, and had the misfortune to be idle, though not unconcerned, spectators of the storm. They saw the minutest actions distinctly when the works were carried. The Frigate, after receiving several platoons, slipped her cable and proceeded a little way up the river: but the wind and tide becoming adverse, the crew set her on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy; whose ships were approaching.—The louring darkness of the night, the profound stillness that reigned, the interrupted flashes of the flames that illuminated the waters, the long shadows of the cliffs that now and then were seen, the explosion of the cannon which were left loaded in the ship, and the reverberating echo which resounded, at intervals, between the stupendous mountains on both sides of the river, composed an awful night piece, for persons prepared (by the preceding scene) to contemplate subjects of horrid sublimity.

The garrison, inspired by the conduct of their leaders, defended the works with distinguished valor. But, as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships and as an assault in rear had not been expected, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. In the dusk of twilight the British entered with their bayonets fixed. Their loss was inconsiderable. Nor was that of the garrison great. Governor Clinton, his brother General James Clinton, Colonel Dubois, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed. The capture of this fort by Sir Henry Clinton, together with the consequent removal of the chains and booms that obstructed the navigation, opened a passage to Albany and seemed to favor a junction of his force with that of General Burgoyne. But the latter having been compelled to capitulate a few days after this event, and great numbers of Militia having arrived from New-England, the successful army returned to New-York—yet not before a detachment from it, under the Orders of General Vaughan, had burnt the defenceless town of Esopus, and several scattering buildings on the banks of the river.

NOTWITHSTANDING the army in the High-

lands had been so much weakened (for the sake of strengthening the armies in other quarters) as to have occasioned the loss of Fort Montgomery, yet that loss was productive of no consequences. Our main army in Pennsylvania, after having contended with superior force in two indecisive battles, still held the enemy in check. While the splendid success, which attended our arms at the Northward, gave a more favorable aspect to the American affairs, at the close of this campaign, than they had ever before assumed.

WHEN the enemy fell back to New-York by water, we followed them a part of the way by land. Colonel Meigs, with a detachment from the several Regiments in General Parsons's Brigade, having made a forced march from Crompond to West-Chester, surprised and broke up for a time the band of freebooters: of whom he brought off fifty, together with many Cattle and Horses which they had recently stolen.

Soon after this enterprize, General Putnam advanced towards the British lines. As he had received intelligence that small bodies of the enemy were out with orders from Governor Tryon to burn Wright's Mills, he prevented it by detaching three parties of one

hundred men in each. One of these parties fell in with and captured thirty-five ; and another forty of the New Levies. But as he could not prevent a third hostile party from burning the house of Mr. Van Tassel, a noted Whig and a Committee man, who was forced to go along with them, naked and barefoot, on the icy ground, in a freezing night : he, for the professed purpose of retaliation, sent Captain Buchanan, in a Whale-boat, to burn the house of General Oliver Delancey on York Island. Buchanan effected his object, and by this expedition put a period for the present to that unmeaning and wanton species of destruction.

WHILE General Putnam quartered at New Rochel, a scouting party which had been sent to West Farms, below West-Chester, furrounded the house in which Colonel James Delancey lodged, and, notwithstanding he crept under the bed the better to be concealed, brought him to Head-Quarters before morning. This Officer was exchanged by the British General without delay, and placed at the head of the Cow-Boys, a licentious Corps of irregulars, who, in the sequel, committed unheard-of depredations and excesses.

It was distressing to see so beautiful a part

of the country so barbarously wasted; and, often to witness some peculiar scene of female misery. For most of the female inhabitants had been obliged to fly within the lines possessed by one army or the other. Near our quarters was an affecting instance of human vicissitude. Mr. William Sutton of Maroneck, an inoffensive man, a merchant by profession, who lived in a decent fashion and whose family had as happy prospects as almost any in the country, upon some imputation of Toryism went to the enemy. His wife, oppressed with grief in her disagreeable state of dereliction, did not long survive. Betsey Sutton, their eldest daughter, was a modest and lovely young woman, of about fifteen years old, when at the death of her mother, the care of five or six younger children devolved upon her. She was discreet and provident beyond her years. But when we saw her, she looked to be feeble in health—broken in spirit—wan, melancholy, and dejected. She said “ that their last cow, which furnished
 “ milk for the children, had lately been tak-
 “ en away—that they had frequently been
 “ plundered of their wearing apparel and fur-
 “ niture, she believed, by both parties—that
 “ they had little more to lose—and that she
 “ knew not where to procure bread for the
 “ dear little ones, who had no father to pro-

"vide for them"—*no mother*—she was going to have said—but a torrent of tears choaked articulation. In coming to that part of the country, again, after some campaigns had elapsed, I found the habitation desolate and the garden overgrown with weeds. Upon enquiry I learnt, that, as soon as we left the place, some ruffians broke into the house, while she lay in bed, in the latter part of the night: and that, having been terrified by their rudeness, she ran half-naked into a neighboring swamp, where she continued until the morning—there the poor girl caught a violent cold, which ended in a consumption. It finished a life without a spot—and a career of sufferings commenced and continued without a fault.

SIGHTS of wretchedness always touched with commiseration the feelings of General Putnam and prompted his generous soul to succour the afflicted. But the indulgence, which he shewed (whenever it did not militate against his duty) towards the deserted and suffering families of the Tories in the State of New-York, was the cause of his becoming unpopular with no inconsiderable class of people in that State. On the other side, he had conceived an unconquerable aversion to many of the persons, who were entrusted with the

disposal of Tory-property, because he believed them to have been guilty of peculations and other infamous practices. But, although the enmity between him and the Sequestrators was acrimonious as mutual; yet he lived in habits of amity with the most respectable characters in public departments as well as in private life.

His character was also respected by the enemy. He had been acquainted with many of the principal Officers in a former war. As flags frequently passed between the out-posts, during his continuance on the lines, it was a common practice to forward News-Papers by them; and as those printed by Rivington, the Royal Printer in New-York, were infamous for the falsehoods with which they abounded, General Putnam once sent a Packet to his old friend General Robertson with this Billet: "Major General Putnam presents his Compliments to Major General Robertson and sends him some American News-Papers for his perusal—when General Robertson shall have done with them, it is requested they be given to Rivington, in order that he may print some truth."

LATE in the year we left the lines and repaired to the Highlands. For upon the loss

of fort Montgomery, the Commander in Chief determined to build another fortification for the defence of the river. His Excellency, accordingly, wrote to General Putman to fix upon the spot. After reconnoitering all the different places proposed, and revolving in his own mind their relative advantages for offence on the water and defence on the land, he fixed upon WEST POINT. It is no vulgar praise to say, that to him belongs the glory of having chosen this rock of our military salvation. The position for water batteries, which might sweep the channel where the river formed a right angle, made it the most proper of any for commanding the navigation; while the rocky ridges, that rose in awful sublimity behind each other, rendered it impregnable, and even incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. The British, who considered this post as a sort of American Gibraltar, never attempted it but by the treachery of an American officer. All the world knows that this project failed and that West Point, continues to be the receptacle of every thing valuable in military preparations to the present day.

IN the month of January 1778, when a snow two feet deep lay on the earth, General

Parsons's Brigade went to West Point and broke ground. Want of covering for the troops, together with want of tools and materials for the works, made the prospect truly gloomy and discouraging. It was necessary that means should be found, though our currency was depreciated and our treasury exhausted. The estimates and requisitions of Colonel la Radiere, the Engineer who laid out the works, altogether disproportioned to our circumstances, served only to put us in mind of our poverty, and, as it were, to satirize our resources. His petulant behaviour and unaccommodating disposition added further embarrassments. It was then that the patriotism of Governor Clinton shone in full lustre. His exertions to furnish supplies can never be too much commended. His influence, arising from his popularity, was unlimited: yet he hesitated not to put all his popularity at risque, whenever the federal interests demanded. Notwithstanding the impediments that opposed our progress, with his aid before the opening of the campaign, the works were in great forwardness.

ACCORDING to a resolution of Congress, an enquiry was to be made into the causes of military disasters. Major General McDougall, Brigadier General Huntington and Colonel

Wigglesworth composed the Court of Enquiry on the loss of fort Montgomery. Upon full knowledge and mature deliberation of facts on the spot, they reported the loss to have been occasioned by want of men and not by any fault in the Commanders.

GENERAL Putnam, who during the investigation, was relieved from duty, as soon as Congress had approved the Report, took command of the right Wing of the Grand Army, under the Orders of the General in Chief. This was just after the Battle of Monmouth, when the three armies which had, last year, acted separately, joined at the White Plains. Our effective force, in one camp was at no other time so respectable as at this juncture. The army consisted of sixty regular Regiments of foot formed into fifteen Brigades, four Battalions of Artillery, four Regiments of Horse and several Corps of State Troops. But as the enemy kept close within their Lines on York-Island, nothing could be attempted. Towards the end of Autumn, we broke up the Camp, and went first to Fredericksburg, and thence to winter quarters.

In order to cover the Country adjoining to the *Sound* and to support the garrison of *West*

Point, in case of an attack, Major General Putnam was stationed for the winter at Reading in Connecticut. He had under his Orders the Brigade of New-Hampshire, the two Brigades of Connecticut, the Corps of Infantry commanded by Hazen and that of Cavalry by Sheldon.

THE troops, who had been badly fed, badly cloathed and worse paid, by brooding over their grievances in the leisure and inactivity of winter-quarters began to think them intolerable. The Connecticut Brigades formed the design of marching to Hartford, where the General Assembly was then in Session, and of demanding redress at the point of the Bayonet. Word having been brought to General Putnam that the second Brigade was under arms for this purpose, he mounted his horse, galloped to the Cantonment and thus addressed them: “ My brave lads, whither
 “ are you going? Do you intend to desert
 “ your Officers and to invite the enemy to
 “ follow you into the country? Whose cause
 “ have you been fighting and suffering so
 “ long in, is it not your own? Have you no
 “ property, no parents, wives or children?
 “ You have behaved like men so far—all the
 “ world is full of your praises—and posterity
 “ will stand astonished at your deeds: but

“ not if you spoil all at last. Don’t you con-
 “ sider how much the country is distressed by
 “ the war, and that your officers have not
 “ been any better paid than yourselves ? But
 “ we all expect better times and that the
 “ Country will do us ample justice. Let us
 “ all stand by one another then and fight it
 “ out like brave Soldiers. Think what a
 “ shame it would be for Connecticut-men to
 “ run away from their Officers.”—After the
 several Regiments had received the General
 as he rode along the line *with drums beating*
and presented arms ; the Sergeants, who had
 then the command, brought the men *to an*
Order, in which position they continued while
 he was speaking. When he had done, he di-
 rected the acting Major of Brigade to give the
 word for them to shoulder, march to their
 Regimental parades and lodge arms. All
 which they executed with promptitude and ap-
 parent good humour. One Soldier only,
 who had been the most active, was confined in
 the quarter-guard : from whence, at night,
 he attempted to make his escape. But the
 centinel, who had also been in the mutiny,
 shot him dead on the spot, and thus the affair
 subsided.

ABOUT the middle of winter, while Gen-
 eral Putnam was on a visit to his out-post

at Horse-Neck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon that town with a corps of fifteen hundred men—to oppose these, General Putnam had only a Picket of one hundred and fifty men and two iron field pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground by the meeting-house, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until, perceiving the horse (supported by the infantry) about to charge, he ordered the picket to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse; and secured his own by plunging down the steep precipice at the church upon a full trot. This precipice is so steep, where he descended, as to have artificial stairs composed of nearly one hundred stone-steps for the accommodation of foot passengers, There the Dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short. For the declivity was so abrupt that they ventured not to follow: and, before they could gain the valley by going round the brow of the hill in the ordinary road, he was far enough beyond their reach. He continued his route unmolested to Stamford, from whence, having strengthened his picket by the junction of some militia, he came back again, and in turn, pursued Governor Tryon in his retreat. As he rode down the precipice, one ball, of

the many fired at him, went through his beaver. But Governor Tryon, by way of compensation for spoiling his hat, sent him soon afterwards, as a present, a complete suit of Cloaths.

IN the Campaign of 1779, which terminated the career of General Putnam's services, he commanded the Maryland line posted at Butter-milk falls, about two miles below West Point. He was happy in possessing the friendship of the officers of that Line and in living on terms of hospitality with them. Indeed there was no family in the army that lived better than his own. The General, his second son Major Daniel Putnam, and the writer of these Memoirs composed that family. This campaign, principally spent in strengthening the works of West Point, was only signalised for the storm of Stoney-Point by the Light Infantry under the conduct of General Wayne, and the surprise of the post of Powles Hook by the Corps under the command of Colonel Henry Lee. When the army quitted the field and marched to Morris Town into winter quarters, General Putnam's family went into Connecticut for a few weeks. In December, the General began his journey to Morris Town. Upon the road between Pomfret and Hartford he felt an un-

usual torpor slowly pervading his right hand and foot. This heaviness crept gradually on, and untill it had deprived him of the use of his limbs on that side, in a considerable degree, before he reached the house of his friend Colonel Wadsworth. Still he was unwilling to consider his disorder of the paralytic kind and endeavoured to shake it off by exertion. Having found that impossible, a temporary dejection, disguised however under a veil of assumed cheerfulness, succeeded. But reason, philosophy, and religion soon reconciled him to his fate. In that situation he has constantly remained, favored with such a portion of bodily activity as enables him to walk and to ride moderately ; and retaining unimpaired his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantry, his strength of memory and all the faculties of his mind. As a proof that the powers of memory are not weakened, it ought to be observed, that he has lately repeated from recollection all the adventures of his life, which are here recorded, and which had formerly been communicated to the compiler in detached conversations.

In patient yet fearless expectation of the approach of THE KING OF TERRORS, whom he hath full often faced in the field of blood, the Christian hero now enjoys in domestic retire-

ment the fruit of his early industry. Having in youth provided a competent subsistence for old age, he was secured from the danger of penury and distress, to which, so many Officers and Soldiers worn out in the public service have been reduced. To illustrate his merits the more fully, this Essay will be concluded with a copy of the last letter written to him, by General Washington, in his military character.

Head-Quarters, 2d June, 1783.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Your favor of the 20th of May I received with much pleasure. For I can assure
 “ you that among the many worthy and meritorious Officers, with whom I have had
 “ the happiness to be connected in service
 “ through the course of this war, and from
 “ whose cheerful assistance in the various and
 “ trying vicissitudes of a complicated contest,
 “ *the name of a PUTNAM is not forgotten*: nor
 “ will be, but with that stroke of time which
 “ shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues,
 “ through which we have struggled for the
 “ preservation and establishment of the

“ *Rights, Liberties and Independence of our*
 “ *Country.*

“ YOUR congratulations on the happy
 “ prospects of Peace and Independent secu-
 “ rity, with their attendant blessings to the
 “ UNITED STATES, I receive with great sa-
 “ tisfaction; and beg that you will accept a
 “ return of my gratulations to you on this
 “ auspicious event—an event, in which,
 “ great as it is in itself and glorious as it
 “ will probably be in its consequences, you
 “ have a right to participate largely, from
 “ the distinguished part you have contribu-
 “ ted towards its attainment.

“ But while I contemplate the greatness
 “ of the object for which we have contended,
 “ and felicitate you on the happy issue of our
 “ toils and labours, which have terminated
 “ with such general satisfaction; I lament
 “ that you should feel the ungrateful returns
 “ of a Country, in whose service you have
 “ exhausted your bodily strength and expen-
 “ ded the vigour of a youthful constitution.
 “ I wish however, that your expectations of
 “ returning liberality may be verified. I
 “ have a hope they may :—but should they
 “ not, your case will not be a singular one. *In-*
 “ *gratitude has been experienced in all ages,*

“ and REPUBLICS *in particular, have ever*
 “ *been famed for the exercise of that unnatural*
 “ and SORDID VICE.

“ THE SECRETARY AT WAR, who is now
 “ here, informs me that you have ever been
 “ considered as entitled to full pay, since
 “ your absence from the field; and that you
 “ will still be considered in that light untill
 “ the close of the war : at which period you
 “ will be equally entitled to the same emolu-
 “ ments of half-pay or commutation, as other
 “ officers of your rank. The same opinion
 “ is also given by the Pay Master General,
 “ who is now with the army, impowered by
 “ Mr. Morris for the settlement of all their
 “ accounts, and who will attend to your’s
 “ whenever you shall think proper to send
 “ on for the purpose; which it will proba-
 “ bly be best for you to do in a short time.

“ I ANTICIPATE, with pleasure, the day
 “ (and that I trust not far off) when I shall
 “ quit the busy scenes of a military employ-
 “ ment, and retire to the more tranquil walks
 “ of domestic life. In that, or whatever other
 “ situation Providence may, dispose of my
 “ future days; THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE
 “ MANY FRIENDSHIPS AND CONNECTIONS I
 “ HAVE HAD THE HAPPINESS TO CONTRACT

“ WITH THE GENTLEMEN OF THE ARMY,
“ WILL BE ONE OF MY MOST GRATEFUL RE-
“ FLECTIONS. *Under this contemplation, and*
“ *impressed with the sentiments of benevolence*
“ *and regard, I commend you, my dear Sir, my*
“ *other friends, and, with them, the interests*
“ *and happiness of our dear Country to the*
“ KEEPING AND PROTECTION OF ALMIGHTY
“ GOD.”

I have the honor to be, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To the Honorable
Major General Putnam.

B  L